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Tonga OU9

[For information on norms and ethics as expressed in proverbs and folk wisdom, see 8: Collocott and Havea, Category 539.]

There is a certain number of commoners who seem to be related, not to 565
the modern great chiefs, but to the ancient chiefs who have become sub- 622
merged politically. Examples of such submerged chiefs are Mahina, Pua- 602
katea, and Takalatea of Vavau, who, though subjects of the Tui Tonga,
were conquered by the ambitious Tui Kanokupolu Vuna.

It is considered bad form in Tonga to-day to name people as commoners 565
unless the person who is giving the information is of high rank. For one 576
commoner to name others as commoners is improper and also unwise, in-
curring enmity.

A good example of the relationship which prevails between a chief and 622
the people who inhabit his hereditary lands is presented on the island of 565
Okoa, Vavau. The overlord is the Tui Lakepa, who also owns the neighboring island of Ofu and has holdings in Tongatabu. The mayor of Okoa is Afu Haa Mango, a matapule, a relative of the Tui Lakepa. An earlier Tui Lakepa had a daughter, Kaufusi, who was the mother of Shadrach Afu Haa Mango. Kaufusi had brothers Nautu, Masiu, Kalau, Paulalolo, and Ilai. These brothers are the grandfathers of the inhabitants of Okoa and Ofu. The people living in the Tui Lakepa's *tofia* in Tongatabu, are also his relatives and the relatives of the Okoans.

The relation which subsists between a person of high rank and that per- 565
son's inferior relatives is revealed by the following: A woman of high 602
rank, closely related to the last Tamaha and sister of the late Tui Haa Teiho, 622
now resides in Vavau, the home of her mother now deceased. She had a number of servants about her home, all of whom she said were her relatives on her mother's side. When she resides in Haapai, relatives from her father's side of the family serve her. She said that anciently the servants of chiefs were invariably their relatives not unrelated commoners. She strongly emphasized the bond of blood between the highest chiefs and the commoners.

Many a commoner treasures the link of genealogy that connects him with some high chief. Thus Peter Koloamatangi claimed Tui Tonga blood, because his paternal grandfather was brother's son of a Tamaha.

The word *fanautaina* (child of the village) means a child born of a woman 622
of a particular locality, begotten of a chief. At times a handsome girl was 602
taken to a chief in order to bring chiefly blood to a place. A child is reckoned 837
as belonging to the place of its father or its mother according to its residence, [611]
but still the blood bond with the village to which they belong is recognized and can be utilized. All people of such a village would speak of themselves as related to the chief, although many of them were not.

Most Tongan informants are agreed that in spite of the wide range of 829
social standing, the Tongan population of to-day is of one origin and is not 186
comprised of immigrants (conquerors) and indigenes (conquered). The

The
inequalities of rank are regarded not as the result of rule imposed by con- 829
querors, but as the result of rules of primogeniture within the family and of 186
differences in ability of chiefs. As one informant put it, "Some men pos- 565
sessed ability to rule and became rulers. The strong man became king, the
wise man became the matapule, the weakling became the commoner." No
doubt this statement is a rationalization, but the belief in community of origin
of the three social classes is prevalent in Tonga to-day. If the country was
ever overrun by conquering immigrants, all memory of their coming has been
effaced. There is, however, ample evidence to show a continual dribbling into [167]
the country of people from surrounding islands.

There is probably less attachment of commoners to their chiefly relatives 565
to-day than there was in the past. In fact, with the absence of internecine 622
warfare and with the freedom bestowed by constitutional government, the
people may move about with greater liberty and need not adhere closely to
their related overlords. However, there is still a strong attachment to the [423]
chiefs and to the land and even with the present system of leasing land the [427]
tendency is for a family to remain attached to the soil, the tract which a
father leased being likewise leased by one of his sons.

To understand the system of apparent servitude which prevailed in Tonga, 565
three features of family relationships should be kept in mind: (a) the 543
superior rank of sisters; (b) the superior rank of older siblings; and (c) 604
the *fahu* idea. To the demands of the *fahu* of a great chief, that chief and
his dependants were obliged to accede. Thus all of the descendants of the
Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho are *fahu* to the Haa Ngata Motua chiefs and to
the commoners of that lineage. In other words the whole of the district
of Hihifo, Tongatabu, is obliged to yield its best to the great *fahu* of the
chiefs of the district, who here is the Prince Consort Tungi.

INDICATIONS OF RANK

The relative rank of individuals is visualized in seating arrangements, 554
particularly in the kava circle, but also in the house, both at meal times and 576
on other occasions.

The head of the household, the family patriarch, called *ulu oe kainga* 592
(*ulu*, head; *oe*, of; *kainga*, related) was accustomed to sit midway between 554
the two house posts (fig. 2, *a*), at the end which he used as a sleeping cham- 574
ber, facing the opposite end. This position was called *matuloki*. All other
sitting places were called *lotofale* (inside house). If the head of the house
ranked all his guests, he maintained his position. His highest ranking
guest sat at his right hand and the next in rank at *c*. The positions *a*, *b*, *c*, 592
were reserved for chiefs. Matapules would sit at the other end of the house, 554
574
d. Commoners would not dare to sit in the house. If the guest should 565

only the matapule and chiefs wore tapa *vala,* the *tua* men wore a *vala* of 291
losi leaves, called *sisi losi,* but the *tua* women wore these only when poverty- 565
stricken. The *tua* wore tapa only on dress-occasions, and then it was a worn
out piece, descending to them from a previous owner of higher station.

In the presence of superiors or on occasions necessitating an outward [292]
show of respect, the *taovala,* an old mat, was worn over the regular *vala.*
young members of a chiefly family, both men and women, often wore *lo-
ngangatu,* ordinary tapa treated with coconut oil to make it smell sweet.

Anciently it was the practice for chiefs to wear the *vala* or skirt-like [622]
garment to half-way between ankle and knee, otherwise they were said to
be "cooks" or "descendants of cooks," for cooks wore the *vala* to knees or
above. It was permissible, however, for a man to wear his *vala* very high [304]
to show his tattooing.

The combs of chiefs and commoners were distinctive. The commoner's 301
comb (*helutuaniu*) was made of coconut "needles" (rib of the frond) fast- 565
ened together with fine twine. The chiefs' comb (*helutoa*) was of hardwood [531]
(some of turtle shell) which was cut entirely through with fanciful patterns.

Many of the privileges which chiefs and matapules enjoyed were prohib- 565
ited to commoners. The fresh-water dug wells were enjoyed as bathing places [515]
only by chiefs. Commoners might not play certain games, notably the bil- [524]
liard-like game called *lafo.* If caught playing this game they would be pun- [689]
ished, perhaps even with death.

If a chief calls at a commoner's home, the commoner accompanies him 565
on his return to his quarters. There he talks with him. In approaching or 574
passing a chief, or when spoken to by a chief, a commoner would assume [516]
a stooped or bowed posture called *tulolo* or *punou.* If passing a chief, he [576]
would say *tulou* (please excuse my passing). If on horseback, he would dis-
mount.

All pigeons (*lupe*) caught were taken to chiefs, and eaten only by them. 262
If commoners ate pigeons they were punished by whipping or even death. 565
Pigeon-snaring was perhaps the most popular of chiefly sports. A host of 223
words refer to it. Many of them are used metaphorically of women, suc- 689
cessful love-making being likened to successful pigeon-snaring. [526]

The following are notes which were set down from the lips of a com- [196] [831]
moner (here called X) born in Vavau, and who was 58 years of age. They
are of interest as giving his outlook upon social stratification. Doubtless 565
the pride of higher connections exhibited in his remarks is typical of the 829
attitude of many Tongan commoners.

The name which X bears is that assigned at birth and is expressive of courage. [553]
It also occurs in Tonga as the title of one of the Tui Tonga's navigators or fishermen.
X's maternal grandfather fought at Pea for the Tui Kanokupolu George I, and was [729]

rewarded with a tract of land on an island in the Vavau group. The tract still belongs 565
to a member of the family, but not to X. X's family belongs to the Haa Ngata 829
Tupu in which are Ulukalala, Tapuelelu, and other great chiefs. X considers himself [729]
a matapule, because certain ancestors were *toutai* to the Tui Tonga. All people
bearing X's name can trace relationship to the Tui Tonga's *toutai*, but all cannot trace [613]
relationship to the Haa Ngata Tupu chiefs, as X can. He counts himself a member
of Haa Ngata Tupu by blood relationship.

As do other informants X regards all three classes as Tongan. He has relatives [582]
in Niuatoputapu, Uvea, and Samoa, brought about by his forefathers marrying there.

THE ACT OF OBEISANCE

The following is a translation of a Tongan account supplied by Mrs. 622
Rachel Tonga. Compare 41, vol. 1, p. 434; 19, vol. 1, p. 409. 643

> This is the way that the act of *moemoei*, or touching of the soles of the chiefs' 576
> feet as a mark of reverence, was done. That was a great mark of respect in Tonga, 613
> and it was not done to anyone but the Tamaha, the Tui Tonga, and the chiefs of
> one's own lineage.
>
> To the Tamaha the respect was paid by touching the soles of her feet. This
> was done by all persons from the Tui Tonga himself down to the lowest person.
> The Tamaha was the first, highest, and most sacred chief in the land. The Tui [644]
> Tonga was the most sacred male chief in the land. This respect of touching the
> soles of his feet was paid him by the Kauhalalalo, that is the reigning king (Tui
> Haa Takalaua or Tui Kanokupolu) and all the high chiefs down to the lowest person.
>
> The *moemoei* was done when first entering the house, so that one might be at liberty to sit down in the house, on the occasion of a kava party or other gathering. And when wishing to go outside of the house it was done again, after the completion of the kava ceremonies or entertainment, or other matter that might have taken one into her (or his) presence.
>
> This is the way that the *moemoei* is done. One goes and stoops down and places [516]
> the back of both hands on the soles of the chief's feet. And after that is finished
> then one stands up and goes. And should it be difficult to approach and *moemoei* because
> of her (or his) partaking of the kava being too ceremonious, one went to a small
> wooden bowl which was left at the threshold outside and which was called "the carrier
> of immunity" (*koe fafanonga*). One went and did the *moemoei* ceremony to the bowl,
> just as if it were the Tamaha or the Tui Tonga. Then one was at liberty to go home,
> free of tapu.
>
> If one was doing *moemoei* to one's own hereditary chief, it was done with the
> crown of the head. One went and knelt down and placed the crown of his head [516]
> against the soles of the chief's feet, so that one might be at liberty to sit down or to
> go as the case might be.

Thomson (54, p. 293, footnote 1) has an interesting note on performing 576
moemoei, in which he points out that it was performed at times as a 622
prophylactic: 516

> 751
> A salute paid to the highest chief present. The person performing it sits cross- 753
> legged before him, and bows the head until the forehead touches the sole of the chief's
> foot, and then brushes the foot first with the palm and then with the back of each hand.
> After touching a chief's person the *moĕmoĕ* must be performed on pain of the liver
> swelling up and causing death. As they are subject to scrofulous diseases, which they [784]
> attribute to an unwitting breach of the *tabu*, they used to perform the *moĕmoĕ* frequently
> from motives of caution, without reference to any special *tabu* they had broken.

the sun was; that when the sun was in the east 401
the watch would point to such a mark, and when
the sun was highest it would point here, and 727
when in the west it would point there; and 177
this, he said, the watch would do, although it 805
was in a house, and could not see the sun; and in the night-time, he added, it would tell what portion of a day's length it would be before the sun would rise again. It would be difficult to convey an adequate idea of their astonishment: one said it was an animal, another said it was a plant; and when this man told them it was manufactured, they all exclaimed *Fonnooa boto!* what an ingenious people! All this Mr. Mariner collected partly by their gestures, and afterwards more fully when he understood their language, and conversed with this man, who always prided himself upon his knowledge of the use of a watch, calling himself Papalangi (an European).

About the 20th of December, Mr. Mariner 727
returned to Lefooga along with Finow. His
life was still not only uncomfortable, but often
exposed to many dangers, or, at best, he suffered
many insults from the wantonness and malevolence
of the lower orders. Tooi Tooi was by [829]
no means his friend, but, on the contrary, endeavoured to persuade Finow to kill both him and the other Englishmen; lest a ship should

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

727 arrive, and learning from them the fate of the
Port au Prince, take an ample revenge for the
829 injury done their countrymen: but Finow, fortunately, was not of this opinion; he conceived that white people were of too generous and forgiving a temper to take revenge, and therefore declined doing them any farther mischief. He had probably acquired this favourable idea of us, from observing that Europeans were not accustomed to knock out the brains of those under their command for trifling offences!

177 As Mr. Mariner had in his possession a few
754 printed books and some writing paper, he was
797 often found by Finow either writing or reading:
829 one day the latter desired him to give up all his
727 books and papers; which, when he had done,
with the exception of a journal of the voyage, he had the mortification to find that they were ordered to be burnt. On requiring an explanation of this extraordinary conduct, on the part of a man who appeared on other occasions to be so much his friend, he was informed, through the medium of Tooi Tooi, that the king could not, on any account, allow him to practise witchcraft to the injury of the Tonga people; and that it was well known to the king and many others, that those books and papers were instruments and means of invocation, to bring down some evil or plague upon the country. Mr.

Mariner could not very well comprehend Tooi 177
Tooi's interpretation; but when he afterwards 754
understood the language, the king explained to 797
him his opinion of books and papers, and gave 829
his reasons for that opinion, in the following 727
account.

" Some years ago, on the arrival of an Euro- 177
" pean vessel, one of the white men came to
" live among them by choice. This man's 754
" name was Morgan. He lived for a considera- 797
" ble time on terms of great friendship with 829
" the natives, and was much respected by them.
" Some time afterwards there came another Eu-
" ropean vessel," (the Duff, Captain Wilson,
with the missionaries,) " and from this ship also
" there came several white men, to live by
" choice among them. The white men that
" came last built a house, in which they used often
" to shut themselves up, to sing and perform
" ceremonies, (as Finow expressed it). Matters
" went on very well for some time: at length a
" quarrel ensued between Morgan and the other
" white men, at first about an iron pot which he
" wanted to borrow of them, and then about
" some pigs which they said he had stolen from
" them: upon this they informed the chiefs that
" this Morgan had been a bad man in his own
" country, and was under sentence of banish-
" ment for his crimes; but from the full execu-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

177 “ tion of which he had escaped.” (He had actually
754 escaped from Botany Bay.) “ The people
797 “ then began to treat Morgan with every species
829 “ of insult, so that his life was very uncomfortable,
“ and often in great danger. Morgan
“ in his turn told the chiefs who *they* were; viz.
“ that they were men sent out by the king of
“ England to bring a pestilence upon the people
“ of Tonga, and that they accordingly shut
“ themselves up in this house, to perform witchcraft,
“ and make incantations, which was the
“ cause of the pestilence that then raged:”
[164] (there was an epidemic disease at the time,
[791] which was very fatal among the chiefs, two or
three dying every day) “ and that all their
“ books were books of witchcraft. The chiefs
“ began to take Morgan's statement into serious
“ consideration; there certainly was a great
“ mortality among them: the white men often
“ assembled, and sang very loud; besides which,
“ they would not let the Tonga people be present;
“ and to prevent them even from peeping
“ through the crevices of the reed fencing of
“ the house, they stopt them up with all kinds
“ of filth, knowing that the cleanliness of the
“ Tonga people would not then allow them even
“ to approach. And the chiefs said to themselves,
“ if these people are doing no harm, why
“ do not they allow us to be present? we do

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

" not conceal our ceremonies from them, why 177
" do not they expose theirs to us? In the mean 754
" while Morgan said to the chiefs, 'You see the 797
" 'effect of their incantations; several of you 829
" 'are dying every day; by and by you will be
" 'all cut off, and the king of England will take
" 'possession of your islands; for although you
" 'have the remedy in your power, you will not
" 'make use of it.'—The chiefs took the alarm [721]
" in time; they rushed upon the white men, [727]
" and killed all but three*, who were at that
" time under the protection of Veachi;" a
great chief, hereafter to be noticed.

Such was the cause of the fate of the mission- 727
aries, as related by the king to Mr. Mariner, 797
who often afterwards heard the same relation
from other chiefs. He inquired what became 727
of the three that were under the protection of
Veachi, and learnt that they were killed during 669
a civil war: they might indeed have made their 797
escape, along with some natives who invited
them into a canoe, which was going to another
island, but they chose to remain; urging for
their reason that they had not quarrelled with
any of the Tonga people, and that consequently
they should not be hurt; the others informed
them, however, that it was the Tonga custom

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* From the "Transactions of the Missionary Society," it appears that only three were killed.

727 not only to kill an enemy, but also all his friends
669 and relations, if possible: the three missionaries
then replied that as they had done no
797 harm, and meant no harm, their God would protect them: at this moment, a party of natives, who were lying in wait in a neighbouring thicket, rushed out and killed them with their spears. The natives in the canoe pushed off from the shore, and made their escape.—How necessary it is to know the customs of the country! how baneful it is to be presumptuous! Our best intentions may be ruined by the ignorance of the one, and influence of the other.

But to return from this digression; Mr. Mariner,
727 and his companions, ignorant of the language
574 of the country, and of the customs of the people, were often much distressed for want of food: sometimes indeed it was brought to them, but often not; sometimes they were invited by the natives to walk into their houses and eat with them; but frequently they seemed to be quite neglected, and were reduced to the necessity of procuring what they wanted by stealth.
[829] At length, through Tooi Tooi's interpretation, Mr. Mariner made known their wants to the king, upon which the latter seemed greatly surprised at their apparent stupidity; and inquired how food was obtained in England: and when he heard that every man procured the necessary

727 574 829 supplies for himself and family by purchase, and that his friends, for the most part, only partook by invitation, and that strangers were scarcely ever invited, unless with a view of forming an acquaintance, he laughed at what he called the ill-nature and selfishness of the white people; and told Mr. Mariner that the Tonga custom was far better, and that he had nothing to do when he felt himself hungry but to go into any house where eating and drinking were going forward, seat himself down without invitation, and partake with the company. After this, the generality of the natives made this selfishness, as they considered it, of the Europeans quite proverbial; and when any stranger came into their houses to eat with them, they would say jocosely, No! we shall treat you after the manner of the Papalangis[A]; go home, and eat what *you* have got, and we shall eat what *we* have got!

727 Mr. Mariner and his companions, about five in number, (for the others were dispersed upon different islands) began now to be heartily tired of their way of life, and requested the king to give them a large canoe, that they might rig it as a sloop, and, with his permission, endeavour to make Norfolk Island on their way to New Holland; but this he refused, under pretext that the canoe would be too weak to stand the sea. On farther solicitation, however, he gave

A [Europeans--Analyst]

634 wife did not mind it, because she was already
764 *taboo'd* from having touched the dead body of
[784] the late Tooitonga nine months before, and had
[643] consequently got accustomed to the inconveniences
of it; and Mr. Mariner did not hesitate to do this last office to his friend, because he had no superstitious fears of the consequences of not submitting to the *taboo*. The body, being washed, was brought into the house, laid on a large bale of *gnatoo*, and anointed with sandal wood oil. Toobó Nuha's widows (four in number) now came in to mourn over the dead body of their departed chief. They entered beating their breasts and faces, and screaming with all the agony and frantic agita-
[533] tions of mad women. They sat down close
[539] round the corpse, and in a most dismal strain
began singing

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634 months, as was the case with Finow's wife above mentioned.
During the time a man is *taboo'd* he must not feed himself
764 with his own hands, but must be fed by somebody else:
784 he must not even use a toothpick himself, but must guide
another person's hand holding the toothpick. If he is hungry
766 and there is no one to feed him, he must go down upon
264 his hands and knees, and pick up his victuals with his
[565] mouth: and if he infringes upon any of these rules, it is
[643] firmly expected that he will swell up and die: and this belief
is so strong that Mr. Mariner thinks no native ever made
[829] an experiment to prove the contrary. They often saw him
feed himself with his hands after having touched dead chiefs, and not observing his health to decline, they attributed it to his being a foreigner, and being governed by different Gods.

669 she been of the king's family, she would no
727 doubt have been retained a prisoner.

[565] Night was now set in, but, by Finow's orders,
a firing was kept up, merely with stones, to
669 avoid a waste of shot, because no good aim
726 could be taken : this lasted for about an hour.
The king's matabooles then made several
[565] speeches to the garrison, soliciting the Vavaoo
chiefs to submit to the government of Finow,
but they objected, under the apprehension that
they should be afterwards killed by the treachery
[634] of the king or of Toobó Tóa. Finow
then addressed them, threatening to remain
there the whole night, and the next day to set
about building a fort opposite theirs, and to
keep up the war until they either yielded or
were destroyed.

Shortly after this, however, he gave orders
to his men to repair as silently and as speedily
as possible to Neáfoo. He deceived the enemy
in this way, to prevent them proceeding by
another road, and cutting off his retreat. The
guns were given in charge to some of the principal
warriors, with men under their command
669 to drag them along. The labour of doing this
726 for three miles was by no means trifling, particularly
718 as the road was very uneven : they swore
heartily at all guns, and all Englishmen for
829 making them, and wanted to know why they

could not construct them a little lighter; or at 669
least, as they had ingenuity enough to make the 726
guns, they ought to have, they said, the inge- [713
nuity also to make legs for them to walk with. 829]

Being arrived at Neafoo, the king, his chiefs, matabooles, Mr. Mariner, and some of the Englishmen, went on board the canoes to pass the night. Mr. Mariner now, as well as in numer-
ous other instances, found the advantage of 705
having an adopted mother, by whom he was 262
provided with plenty of good food, consisting [727
of cooked yams, ripe bananas, and raw fish. 597]
They had partaken of no food all the day, and even now not above thirty or forty, consisting of chiefs and matabooles, got any thing to eat, for the time was too far advanced, and the common men too fatigued, to cook yams enough for themselves that night; and as to raw fish, it was considered too good, and at that time too scarce, to give to them *.

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* The idea of eating raw fish is not one of the least revolting to the imagination; and we are too readily disposed to believe, that nothing but excessive hunger could render this species of food at all palatable: hence voyagers, on witnessing this act among the natives of these islands, have reasonably supposed them to be some of the lower orders much distressed for want of food (vide Labillardiere's voyage); but the fact is, raw fish is a very palatable diet, and is accordingly eaten as a matter of choice, not of necessity. Being strongly assured of this fact by Mr. Mariner, I made the trial, and repeated it several times upon mackarel, salmon,

634 drink cava with her and her attendants, and, as
604 she presided, he of course sat outside, facing
728 her. When the cava was finished, he walked
669 out to view the fortifications, on which occa-
[276] sion the matabooles of Toe Oomoo waited on him, and pointed out every thing worthy of notice. They descanted on the excellence of the plan, and then gave him anecdotes of the war, telling him where such a chief was killed, where another lost his arm or his leg, where a cannon-ball had struck, &c.; and, as they viewed the outside of the works, they pointed out where the different murderers of Toobó
703 Nuha met their fate. All this, however, they
577 told him in answer to his queries; for it is a thing very remarkable in the character of the people of Tonga, that they never exult in any feats of bravery they may have performed, but, on the contrary, take every opportunity of praising their adversaries; and this a man will do, although his adversary may be plainly a coward, and will make an excuse for him, such

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[576] usual mode, but rather by the application of the upper lip and the nostrils, and has more the appearance of smelling. When two equals are about to salute, each applies his upper lip and nostrils to the forehead of the other, or he applies his lips to the lips of the other, but without any movement
[829] of them, or smack, as in our mode. Our kiss they never adopt, not even between the sexes, but, on the contrary, always ridicule it, and term it *the white man's kiss.*

as the unfavourableness of the opportunity, or 703
great fatigue, or ill state of health, or badness 577
of his ground, &c. In their games of wrestling [526]
they act up to the same principle, never to speak ill of their antagonist *afterwards*, but always to praise him. As an illustration of this character it may be remarked, that the man who called himself Fannà Fonnooa, (a great gun,) who ventured his life in his hazardous approach to Mr. Mariner, and threw his spear at the muzzle of his carronade, never afterwards boasted of it, nor appeared to think he had done any thing extraordinary, or at least worthy of after-notice. Their notions of true bravery seem to be very correct, and the light in which they viewed this act of Fannà Fonnooa serves for an example: they considered it in short a rash action, and unworthy a great and brave mind, that never risks any danger but with a moral certainty, or at least reasonable expectation, of doing some service to his cause. In these respects they accuse Euro- [829]
peans of a great deal of vanity and selfishness, and unfortunately with too much justice. It [565]
must be remarked, however, that these noble sentiments belong to chiefs, matabooles, and professed warriors; not much to the lowest orders, many of whom will knock a dead man about the head with a club till they have

634 the king, he turned this material into money,
727 he would scarcely have made as much as he
had given for it. Mr. Mariner was then going
177 on to shew the convenience of money as a medium
of exchange, when Filimóëátoo interrupted
634 him, saying to Finow, I understand how it is;—
727 money is less cumbersome than goods, and it is
177 very convenient for a man to exchange away
829 his goods for money; which, at any other time,
he can exchange again for the same or any other goods that he may want; whereas the goods themselves may perhaps spoil by keeping (particularly if provisions) but the money he supposed would not spoil; and although it was of no true value itself, yet being scarce and difficult to be got without giving something useful and really valuable for it, it was imagined to be of value; and if every body considered it so, and would readily give their goods for it, he did not see but what it was of a sort of real value to all who possessed it, as long as their neighbours chose to take it in the same way. Mr. Mariner found he could not give a better explanation, he therefore told Filimóëátoo that his notion of the nature of money was a just one. After a pause of some length, Finow replied that the explanation did not satisfy him: he still thought it a foolish thing that people should place a value on money, when they

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

either could not or would not apply it to any 634
useful (physical) purpose: "if," said he, "it 727
"were made of iron, and could be converted 177
"into knives, axes, and chisels, there would be 829
"some sense in placing a value on it; but as it "is, I see none: if a man," he added, "has more "yams than he wants, let him exchange some "of them away for pork or *gnatoo;* certainly "money is much handier, and more convenient, "but then as it will not spoil by being kept, "people will store it up, instead of sharing it "out, as a chief ought to do, and thus become "selfish; whereas, if provision were the principal property of a man, and it ought to be, "as being both the most useful and the most "necessary, he could not store it up, for it "would spoil, and so he would be obliged either "to exchange it away for something else useful, "or share it out to his neighbours, and inferior "chiefs and dependants, for nothing." He concluded by saying, "I understand now very "well what it is that makes the Papalangis so "selfish;—it is this money!"

When Mr. Mariner informed Finow that dollars were money, he was greatly surprised, having always taken them for *páänga*[*], and

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[*] Paanga is the name they give to a certain kind of bear 526
which is used in one of their games (see *Laffo* among the

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

634 things of little value; and he was exceedingly
727 sorry he had not secured all the dollars out of
the Port au Prince, before he had ordered her
177 to be burnt: "I had always thought," said he,
829 "that your ship belonged to some poor fellow,
"perhaps to king George's cook*; for captain
"Cook's ship, which belonged to the king, had
"plenty of beads, axes, and looking-glasses on
"board, whilst yours had nothing but iron
"hoops, oil, skins, and twelve thousand *páänga*
"as I thought: but if every one of these was
"money, your ship must have belonged to a
"very great chief indeed."

Finow and his chiefs having now remained
634 at the Hapai islands nearly six weeks, resolved
484 to return to Vavaoo, and the following day set
sail: the prince and Mr. Mariner accompanying
634 them. As soon as they arrived at Vavaoo, the
231 king gave orders that all the dogs in the island,
except a few that belonged to chiefs, should be
killed, because they destroyed the game, particularly the *kalai;* after which he promised
262 himself great sport with his favourite bird. As
the breed of dogs was scarce at these islands,
there were not more than fifty or sixty killed on

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[526] games at the end of the second volume): they supposed dollars to be used among us for a similar purpose.

[252] [565] * At these islands a cook is considered one of the lowest of mankind in point of rank.

823 669 [133] On this rock in former times, as popular tradition records, a band of young chiefs, the heads of a conspiracy, took refuge from the rage of their adversaries, and held the place during six months*; it being quite inaccessible, except by one narrow path, exceedingly steep and dangerous, not wide enough to allow two persons to pass up abreast. This passage was, of course, perfectly under the command of those above, who, by rolling large stones down, could, at any time, hurl destruction upon whomsoever might rashly attempt to ascend. Here they remained in security, as long as their stock of provisions lasted, and even when this was expended, they refused to yield, till famine and raging thirst had destroyed all but three, who, being tempted by a promise of pardon, gave themselves up to their adversaries.
823 687 727 669 Scarcely was this done when they were taken before the king, who cruelly ordered them to be massacred in his presence. The number of those who died upon the rock were five, and they were buried on the spot: three of the graves are still very apparent; the other two are pointed out, but they are not in so distinct
[829] [484] a state. The natives, now and then, ascend this rock, to enjoy the sublime beauty of the

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* They had supplied the place beforehand with *ma*, on which they lived during the whole time.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

surrounding scenery, or to reflect on the fate of 823
those rebellious men, who, so long ago, de- 687
parted from the scene of public tumult, by 829
dying in an unsuccessful attempt to change the 484
order of things. Here the moral reflections of
the natives are sometimes heard in the follow- 727
ing strain; "Where now are those men who 669
"once held up their heads in defiance of their
"chiefs? where now is the proud boast of su-
"periority? Their bodies lie here mingled
"with the dust, and their names are almost
"forgotten*!—But their souls! how are *they* 823
"affected? are they now the same ambitious 687
"spirits in Bolotoo, as they were once in 829
"Tonga, when they animated this silent dust 775
"which is now all that remains of them?—are 669
"they still the partizans of sedition, tumult,
"and war?—but no! in Bolotoo they are all
"gods, and see with a clear understanding
"what is right, without the folly of fighting!"

Such are the reflections of those who visit [484]
this spot and view the lonesome habitations of
the dead; but it is not often that such visits
are made, owing to the difficulty of the ascent,

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* The names of some of these chiefs are still known to a few [773]
of the old matabooles, who have been at the pains of inquir- [565]
ing particulars from their fathers; but the cause in which
they suffered is very imperfectly understood, and, no doubt,
mixed up with a great deal of invention and surmise.

823 and the toil and trouble which it necessarily
484 occasions. In the estimation of the romantic,
[689] however, this trouble is amply repaid by the
[829] rich and extensive scenery on every side, whilst
[775] the murmuring of the waves, breaking upon
[669] the rocks below, soothes the mind with a pleasing
melancholy easier to be conceived than described.
823 The effect which this works upon the
533 minds of the natives will be more easily understood
when we see a sample of their descriptive
songs, which in language, like that of Ossian,
[128] are plaintive and pathetic. In the first place,
however, it is necessary to state a few particulars relative to this romantic and diversified spot, that certain passages of the ensuing song may be better understood.

137 On the right of the wood of *tamanoo* trees
515 there is another wood, consisting almost wholly
of *toà* trees: here the natives frequently resort to rinse themselves with the fresh water found in the hollows, between the junctions of the large branches or limbs that come off immediately from the trunk, after having bathed themselves in the sea: for the salt water, without using such rinsing afterwards, is apt to produce, in hot climates, a cutaneous eruption: besides which, the fresh water washing prevents that uneasy sensation of heat in the skin, upon a little exertion, attended with a clamminess;

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

000 that he was sure they were bones, though they were not at all like any human bones, and he supposed they must have belonged to some fish. To any new comer from Lotooma the first question is, "have you seen the "giant's bones?" But it would appear that communications with Lotooma were not very frequent, since the inhabitants made so sad a mistake as to think Cow Mooala and his followers gods.

484 Cow Mooala shortly took his departure from Lotooma, with three of the native women on board, in addition to his other followers, and sailed for the Fiji islands. Owing to the wind he deviated a little from his course, but at length arrived safe at Navihi Levoo, (as the natives call it, meaning large Fiji: the word Navihi is corrupted by the Tonga people to Fiji,) one of the Fiji islands, to the north-west. Here Cow Mooala took up his residence with the chief of the island, where he remained a considerable length of time, assisting in the war
829 with other islands. The inhabitants of Navihi
727 Levoo are much more ferocious than those of most of the other Fiji islands; this, however, is not stated merely upon the authority of Cow Mooala, who occasionally was apt to exaggerate a little, as will by and by be seen, but upon that of Mr. Mariner, who frequently saw and con-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

829 727 000

versed with some of its natives, as well as with those of the other islands, who were at Tonga in his time; besides which he has since been at Pau, one of the Fiji islands, and consequently is able to form some judgment. The inhabitants of Navihi Levoo are not only more ferocious, but they are much better skilled in war than those of the other islands, and are therefore much dreaded by them: to give themselves a fiercer appearance, they bore a hole through the soft part of the septum of the nose, through which, in time of war, they stick a couple of feathers, nine or twelve inches long, which spread out over each side of the face, like immense mustaches, giving them a very formidable appearance. The worst feature of their barbarism is the horrible practice of eating human flesh, which they carry to a greater extent than any of the other Fiji people. The chief of the island was reported to have a remarkable appetite in this way, we must not take him therefore as a sample for the rest; for he was not in the habit of sacrificing his prisoners immediately, (finding them perhaps too tough for his delicate stomach,) but of actually ordering them to be operated on, and put in such a state as to get both fat and tender, afterwards to be killed as he might want them. The hands and feet, particularly the latter, are considered the choicest parts.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

000 It may here be remarked, that cannibalism is more or less practised on all the Fiji islands, and has its origin, no doubt, in the constant wars in which the people are engaged: not that war among savage nations universally gives occasion to so horrid a custom, (for indeed we have many instances to the contrary;) but in those uncultivated nations, where a spirit of national hatred and thirst of revenge, on some extraordinary occasions, run very high, it appears to be an instinct of uncultivated nature, to crown the catastrophe by a feast at which civilized humanity revolts*, particularly where a scarcity of provisions exists at the same time. [266] At the Fiji islands war and devastation are much [171] more frequent than at the Tonga islands, consequently scarcity is also much more frequent, [669] and cannibalism accordingly much more prac- [261] tised. The island of Navihi Levoo is more troubled by intestine war than the other Fiji

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* Mr. Mariner had from good authority a circumstance that 266 may be mentioned here as illustrative of the point in ques- 578 tion. A certain man at Tonga had a violent hatred to another, whom he sought an opportunity of killing in battle; at length he succeeded; and, cutting open the body, dissected off the [829] liver, and took it home to his house. He tied the liver up in a piece of *gnatoo*, and whenever he wanted to drink water or cocoa-nut milk, he would dip it in, and then squeezing out some of the juice into his beverage, drink it off to satisfy his revenge: this fact was universally known and spoken of, but with much disgust. The cause of his enmity was the ill usage which his wife had received on being taken prisoner by the other. Mr. Mariner knew the man.

islands, and the people are greater cannibals. 000
At the Tonga islands in particular, it may be 171
remarked, that the island of Tonga (properly so 266
called) is constantly in a state of war, and 669
scarcity consequently is much more common
there than at Vavaoo and the Hapai islands, and 261
cannibalism, therefore, much less shuddered at.
At the island of Tonga, indeed, this inhuman
habit is by no means so general as at the Fiji
islands, but then it has not been the scene
of warfare for more than about twenty years,
whereas the latter nation has been familiar,
more or less, with this scourge of the human
race, from time immemorial.

Now we are upon this subject, we may men- 175
tion, that at Tonga, the natives report that some 721
time before Mr. Mariner's arrival among them, an
European ship touched there, the boat of which,
on landing near Mafanga, had a quarrel with
some of the natives, in consequence of which,
three of her crew were killed and dragged up
the country. These the natives embowelled 175
and dressed the same as pork, and several ate 727
heartily of them; but shortly afterwards they 266
were all taken very ill, being attacked with [165]
nausea and vomiting to a violent degree, and
three of them actually died. Some of the na- [829]
tives attributed this circumstance to an un-
wholesome quality in white man's flesh, others

175 to the superior power of the gods of England,
727 in the way of revenge for killing white men.
266 They were strongly corroborated in their opinion
829 of the superiority of the gods of England,
by the circumstance that almost every man who
829 had been actively concerned in the conspiracy
727 against the Port au Prince happened either to
[165] be killed in battle or to die of disease, during
the time Mr. Mariner remained at these islands;
and they would often question him whether it
were not owing to the interference of the English
gods as a punishment; to which he always
answered them in the affirmative, with a
view to his own safety, and to inspire them with
respect for the invisible powers, which, according
to their notions, presided over the welfare
of England and of Englishmen. Some of the
natives, in joke, used to say, that they would kill
Mr. Mariner, to see if the hotooas (gods) of
England would revenge his death, alleging their
disbelief in the unsolicited agency of the English
hotooas, and their opinion rather that Mr.
Mariner himself had been the cause of their
death by his prayers, soliciting his gods to revenge
[565] the death of his countrymen. This,
however, was a notion chiefly of the lower
orders: the higher classes were of opinion, that
the hotooas of England operated of their own
accord, without any intervention or prayer.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

Finow was strongly of this opinion, observing 829
that it was but fair to suppose that, in the same 634
proportion as the white men were superior to
them in knowledge, so were the hotooas of
white men superior to their hotooas in divine
power. But to return from this digression.

Cow Mooala, after remaining a considerable 484
time at Navihi Levoo, sailed with his people for
Tacownove, which is a district on the western
side of Pau, the largest of the Fiji islands. Pau 000
is much resorted to by American vessels, and
vessels from Port Jackson, for sandal-wood,
which grows to perfection only at a certain
part of the island, called Vooi'a. The principal
market for this article is China; and the demand
for it is so great, in proportion to the smallness
of the place which produces it, that it is now
growing scarce, and, consequently, dearer. Formerly
they would give a considerable quantity
for a few nails, but now they demand axes and
chisels, and those, too, of the best quality, for
they have gradually become judges of such
things: whales' teeth are also given in exchange
for it. The chiefs of the Fiji islands very seldom
oil themselves, and, consequently, require very
little of this wood, the principal use of it being
to scent the oil. The natives of the Tonga 439
islands, however, who require a considerable
quantity of it for the above purpose, complain

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

000 and, running up, beat him about the head, and pierced him wherever they could, till, at length, after much hard work, they killed him. When their toil was over, the first thing they thought of (for these people have a strange genius), was, to try if he was good to eat: they accordingly cut him up, and, selecting those parts which they thought the tenderest, they baked a sufficient quantity, and, finding it very good, made a hearty meal. Cow Mooala saw the bones of this animal, from the description of which, as well as what he had heard concerning the living animal, Mr. Mariner supposes that it must have been a crocodile that, by some accident, had made its way from the East Indies: and, as it was the first animal of the kind the natives had ever seen, or ever heard of, we need not wonder that they supposed it to be a supernatural lizard, sent by the gods from Bolotoo, as a punishment for their offences.

[829] Pau is decidedly the largest of the Fiji islands, and much larger than Vavaoo: but Cow Mooala gave an exaggerated account of its size, describing it to be so large, that many of the people in its interior had never seen the sea, owing to their distance from it; and that the people living on the mountains, and who constantly resided there to avoid the frequent wars and disturbances on the plains below,

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

000 [829]

very seldom came down; and when they did, and saw fish for the first time, would not believe but what they were hotooas, (gods,) and wondered very much to see people eat them. The mountains on the western side, called Tacownove, are the highest. On the base of one of these mountains are two hot springs, situated near together, at which a neighbouring garrison generally boil their yams and plantains, by putting them into a vessel with holes in the side, and suffering the boiling water to pass through it*.

The natives of the Fiji islands are much more curly headed than those of the Tonga islands; and all of them, both men and women, powder their hair with the ashes of the bread-fruit leaf, or with powdered lime, prepared from the coral, or else with soot collected from the smoke of the *tooi-tooi*. The pulverized lime is only worn now and then with a view to stiffen their hair, which it does remarkably well. In using either of these substances, they plentifully diffuse it through water, in which they dip their heads; and when the hair is dry they dip again, repeating this operation three or four times: the hair be-

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* Jeremiah Higgins, who was at these islands thirteen weeks, saw the steam arising from these springs, but he had not an opportunity of approaching the spot.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

peared elated at this circumstance, he would 634
have been thought a man of a weak mind, little 276
calculated to be a supreme chief: whereas the 576
character of such a personage should be, in 765
their estimation, (and very rightly too,) that of [156]
superiority over the influence of petty passions, and such trifling emotions as are fit only for the vulgar tribe of mankind. As soon as all the cava was served out and drunk, Finow addressed the company to the following purport.

"Listen to me, chiefs and warriors!—If 634
" any among you are discontented with the 537
" present state of affairs,—now is the time to go 829
" to Hapai; for no man shall remain at Vavaoo 765
" with a mind discontented and wandering to " other places. I have seen with sorrow the " wide destruction occasioned by the unceasing " war carried on by the chief now lying in the " *malái:* we have indeed been doing a great " deal, but what is the result?—the land is depopulated! it is overgrown with weeds, and " there is nobody to cultivate it: had we remained peaceful, it would have been populous " still: the principal chiefs and warriors are " fallen, and we must be contented with the " society of the lower class. What madness! " is not life already too short? Is it not a noble " characteristic in a man to remain happy and " peaceful in his station? What folly then to

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

634 537 829 765 “seek for war to shorten that which is already *too* short! Who is there among us who can say, ‘I wish to die—I am weary of life?’ Have we not then been acting like those of no understanding? Have we not been madly seizing the very thing which deprives us of what we *really want?* Not that we ought to banish all thoughts of fighting! If any power approach us with the front of battle, and attempt to invade our rights, our fury and bravery shall be excited more, in proportion as we have more possessions to defend. Let us therefore confine ourselves to agriculture, for that is truly guarding our country. Why should we be anxious for an increase of territory? Our land is quite large enough to supply us with food,—we shall not even be able to devour all its produce! But perhaps I am not speaking to you wisely! the old matabooles are present; I beg them to tell me if I am wrong. I am yet but a youth, and, on that account, should be unfit to govern, if my mind, like that of the deceased chief, sought not the advice of others: for your loyalty and fidelity towards him, however, I return you my sincere thinks. Finow Fiji, who is present, and the matabooles, know well my frequent inquiries concerning the good of our government: do not then say, *wherefore do*

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

“ *we listen to the idle talk of a boy?* Recollect, 634
“ whilst I speak to you, my voice is the echo 537
“ of the sentiments of Toe Oomoo, and Ooloovaloo, 829
“ and Afoo, and Fotoo, and Alo, and all 765
“ the high chiefs and matabooles of Vavaoo.—
“ Listen to me! I remind you that if there be
“ any among you discontented with this state
“ of affairs, the present is the only opportunity
“ I will give to depart: for let pass this occasion,
“ and not at all shall we communicate
“ with Hapai. Choose therefore your dwelling-places;
“ there is Fiji, there is Hamoa, there is
“ Tonga, there is Hapai, there is Fotoona and
“ Lotooma!—Those men in particular having
“ minds unanimous, loving to dwell in constant
“ peace,—they alone shall remain at Vavaoo
“ and its neighbouring isles. Yet will I not
“ suppress the bravery of any one warlike spirit:—
“ Behold! the islands of Tonga and Fiji
“ are constantly at war; let him there display
“ his courage. Arise! go to your respective habitations;
“ and recollect, that to-morrow the
“ canoes depart for Hapai*.”

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* For the original of this fine speech, and a literal translation, see the latter part of the grammar. Mr. Mariner had in a manner learnt it off by heart, for it was so universally admired that it was in every body's mouth for a long time after. The above version will be found somewhat different from the one in the first edition, and the reason is I did not at that time feel so well the force and strength of the Tonga idiom. [128]

765 Finow, having finished his speech, arose and
634 went to his house, accompanied by the sons of
[537] his chiefs and matabooles, who, together with
his warriors, formed his retinue. After a repast,
765 provided beforehand*, he again made an
634 address, but in a more familiar and conversational
829 way, on the advantages of cultivating
537 land for one's own food, and eating the produce
241 of one's own labour; and to strengthen his argument,
[574] he observed, that, hitherto in Tonga,
it had been the custom for those who formed the retinue of chiefs to subsist on the provision which those chiefs thought proper to share out to them from their own store: and during the great famine (which happened many years before, while he was yet but a boy), he had remarked that more of these men (chiefs' dependents) had died than of the lower orders, who tilled the ground for their own support, as well as that of their chiefs, because they always found means to reserve food for themselves, however great might be the tax; while those who depended on the bounty of their chiefs got but a very scanty allowance. He then went on, "You do not know how much pleasure such

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[276] * They often have cava parties where little is eaten, which was the case with that where he made the above speech; those who are fond of cava seldom eat much with it, conceiving that food destroys its genuine taste, and prevents its due effect upon the system.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

"men feel when they view the work of their 765
"own hands thriving daily: and, whilst eating, 634
"when they reflect that their labour has been 829
"repaid by the increase of their stores: there- 537
"fore let us (chiefs and attendants of chiefs) 241
"apply ourselves, as we have nothing else to "do, to agriculture: follow my example; I "will order a piece of ground to be cleared, "and, during the next rain, I will assist in "planting it with *hiabo.*"

No other circumstances worthy of note hap- 765
pened during the twenty days concluding the 634
burial ceremony. On the tenth day, those who [292]
were not relations of the deceased, nor constituted his household, wore a sort of half mourning; that is to say, under their mats they wore a piece of *gnatoo,* not to be seen, but merely to be more comfortable to the skin than the mats, which, on these occasions, are not of the finest
texture. After the twentieth day they wore [291]
their ordinary dress, and went to their proper
habitations; so did also the relations of the de- [292]
ceased, but then these wore mats for about two months afterwards, though with *gnatoo* under them.

We now come to speak of the transactions of the twentieth day, which concludes the whole ceremony.

Early in the morning of this day, all the rela-

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

A
634 157 829 His ever restless and ambitious spirit would frequently vent itself in such expressions as the following: "Oh, that the gods would make "me king of England! there is not an island "in the whole world, however small, but what "I would then subject to my power: the king "of England does not deserve the dominion "he enjoys; possessed of so many great ships, "why does he suffer such petty islands as those "of Tonga continually to insult his people "with acts of treachery? Were I he, would I "send tamely to *ask* for yams and pigs? No, I "would come with the *front of battle*[*]; and "with the *thunder of Bolotane*[†] I would shew "who ought to be chief. None but men of "enterprising spirit should be in possession of "guns; let such rule the earth, and be those "their vassals who can bear to submit to such "insults unrevenged!" With such sentiments as these would he now and then break forth in presence of Mr. Mariner, after conversing on the power of the king of England. Hence his character, as to ambition, is drawn by himself with bold and decided lines. As to intrigue 634 157 [669]

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[*] *Mooa tow*, which literally means the front or fore-part of battle, is a very usual expression among them.

[192] [†] The expression they use for the noise of guns; the word Britain they cannot pronounce in any other way than Bolotane.

A [Finow's--Analyst]

Mr. Mariner to England. On the third day, 648
which was the day of the brig's departure, his 634
importunities on the subject became extremely urgent, so much so, that Mr. Mariner could not refrain expressing them to the captain; but who refused (as might be expected) to accede to a wish which seemed to promise no future good to an individual in Finow's circumstances, arriving in a strange country, without protection, and without patronage. This was a sore disappointment to him, as it must have been to one who was willing to make such large sacrifices to the accomplishment of his hopes;—to one who would have resigned a princely state and dignity, and all the respect paid by obedient subjects to an arbitrary monarch, for the sake of visiting a country, where, as Mr. Mariner explained to him, he could expect at best but a very inferior mode of life, comparing it with what he had been accustomed to. But the arguments this gentleman used were all in vain; [829] Finow would not,—could not be divested of his wishes: he thought if he could but learn to read and write, and think like a Papalangi, that a state of poverty, with such high accomplishments, was far superior to regal authority in a state of ignorance.

Seeing, however, that his wish was this time at least destined to be thwarted, he made his

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

the same time, to bring back with them three 729
Englishmen that were on shore, viz. James 648
Waters, Thomas Brown, and Thomas Dawson.
In the mean while Finow Fiji, on understanding 648
that he was detained a prisoner, turned very 829
pale, and was evidently greatly alarmed: and even when Mr. Mariner explained to him the cause, he seemed still to think every thing was not right; and expressed his apprehension that they were going to take him to England to answer for the crime of the Hapai people, in taking the Port au Prince, and murdering the crew: the other assured him that his fears were groundless; for, as he was not a party concerned in that sad affair, the English people would never think of punishing the innocent for the guilty: "True!" he replied, "and you "know that I have always befriended you, and "that I am not a treacherous character; and "that rather then assist in taking a Papalangi "ship, I would do all that lay in my power to "prevent such an outrage." To this Mr. Mariner cordially gave his assent, and the chief seemed quite satisfied: his people in the canoes were, however, far from being so,—they raised great clamours, and loudly demanded his liberation; and even his own assurances could scarcely remove their apprehensions. Finow Fiji told Mr. Mariner that he should have been parti-

648 829 cularly sorry to have been taken away, when his nephew was just in the infancy of his reign, and might want his counsel and advice, and thus be deprived of the pleasure of seeing him govern prosperously, and make his people happy, which, from his ability and excellent disposition, he had no doubt would be the case. At length the canoe returned with the journal and the 727 Englishmen. James Waters was not disposed, however, to return to England: he was an old man, and had become infirm, and he reflected that it would be a difficult matter for him to get his bread at home; and as he enjoyed at Vavaoo every convenience that he could desire, he chose to end his days there.

648 829 Finow's sister, a girl of about fifteen years of age, went on shore, and brought on board several other women of rank, who were all greatly pleased that they were allowed to come into the ship and satisfy their curiosity. Finow's sister, who was a very beautiful, lively girl, proposed, in joke, to go to England, and see the white women: she asked if they would allow her to wear the Tonga dress, "though "perhaps," she said, "that would not do in such "a cold country in the winter season. I don't "know what I should do at that time: but Togi "tells me that you have hot-houses for plants "from warm climates, so I should like to live all

" winter in a hot-house. Could I bathe there 648
" two or three times a day without being seen? 829
" I wonder whether I should stand a chance of
" getting a husband; but my skin is so brown,
" I suppose none of the young *papalangi* men
" would have me: and it would be a great pity
" to leave so many handsome young chiefs at
" Vavaoo, and go to England to live a single
" life.—If I were to go to England I would
" amass a great quantity of beads, and then I
" should like to return to Tonga, because in
" England beads are so common that nobody
" would admire me for wearing them, and I
" should not have the pleasure of being envied."
—She said, laughing, that either the white men
must make very kind and good tempered husbands,
or else the white women must have very
little spirit, for them to live so long together
without parting. She thought the custom of
having only one wife a very good one, provided
the husband loved her; if not, it was a
very bad one, because he would tyrannize over
her the more, whereas if his attention was divided
between five or six, and he did not behave
kindly towards them, it would be very
easy to deceive him.—These observations, of [727]
which Mr. Mariner was interpreter, afforded
very great amusement. Finow, and the late Tooitonga's 648
son (about 12 years of age,) together with

634 wrong, they trembled in his presence. Nevertheless,
157 the benevolence of his heart was wonderfully
expressed in his manners: while he was
634 yet on board the ship, Captain Fisk desired
157 Mr. Mariner to tell him that it would be bad
648 policy for him ever to attempt taking a ship, as it would prevent other ships coming to trade with them, or, if they came at all, it might be to punish him and his people for their treachery: as soon as Finow understood what the captain said, he made a step forward to Mr. Mariner, and taking his hand, pressed it cordially between his*, saying with tears in his eyes, and a most benevolent and grateful expression of feature, "Tell the chief that I shall always consider the Papalangies as my relations, "—as my dearest brothers; and rather would I "lose my life than take any thing from them "by force or treachery." He had scarcely finished speaking when the captain exclaimed, "I see, I see what he means,—you need not "translate me that!"

634 Finow's intellect was also very extraordinary,
153 that is to say, it was naturally very strong, and
was very little obscured by prejudices; we have seen several instances of the wisdom of his con-

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[576] [177] [829] * He had learnt the action of taking the hand from the Englishmen there, and used to say it was the most friendly and most expressive way of denoting one's feeling of sincerity.

634 which he went about to two or three that were
153 ill to feel their pulses, and was much delighted
177 with the new discovery. A few days afterwards
727 one of his servants very much offended him by
some unwarrantable act, upon which he became violently angry, but on a sudden the thought struck him of the association between the passions and the pulse, and immediately applying his hand to his wrist, he found it beating violently, upon which, turning to Mr. Mariner, he said, you are quite right; and it put him in such good humour, that the servant got off with a mild remonstrance, which astonished the fellow very much, as he did not understand the cause, and was sitting trembling from head to foot, in full expectation of a beating.

Mr. Mariner explained to him the form and general laws of the solar system; the magnificent idea of the revolutions of the planets, the diurnal revolution of the earth, its rotundity, the doctrine of gravity, the antipodes, the cause of the changes of the seasons, the borrowed light of the moon, the ebb and flow of the tides, &c.—These were his frequent themes of discourse, and objects of his fine understanding;—they pleased him, astonished him, and filled him with intense desire to know more than Mr. Mariner
[829] was able to communicate. He lamented
the ignorance of the Tonga people; he was

amazed at the wisdom of the Papalangies, and 634
he wished to visit them, that he might acquire a 153
mind like theirs. The doctrine of the sun's 177
central situation and the consequent revolution 727
of the planets he thought so sublime, and so like 829
what he supposed might be the ideas and inventions of a God, that he could not help believing it, although it was not quite clear to his
understanding. What he seemed least to com- [821]
prehend was how it happened that the antipodes
did not fall into the sky below (as he expressed [822]
it), for he could not free his mind from the notion of absolute *up* and *down:* but he said he had no doubt, if he could learn to read and write, and think like a Papalangi, that he should be able to comprehend it as easily as a Papalangi, for, he added, the minds of the Papalangies are as superior to the minds of the Tonga people as iron axes are superior to stone axes!—He did not, however, suppose that the minds of white people were essentially superior to the minds of others; but that they were more clear in consequence of habitual reflection and study, and the use of writing, by which a man could leave behind him all that he had learnt in his lifetime.

One day as Mr. Mariner was sharpening an 634
axe, and Finow was turning the grind-stone, 153
the latter observed that the top of the stone was 177
727
821
822

now absorbed in a conviction of the vanity and 701
absurdity of useless bloodshed; and nothing 157
seemed now to afford him a greater pleasure, 721
(next to giving counsel to those who asked it), 551
than to play with little children, and to mingle
with unwonted cheerfulness in their amusements.
Finow Fiji was perhaps about fifty 157
years of age*, and was become rather corpulent: [142]
his whole demeanour was not erect, powerful,
and commanding, like that of his brother, the
late king, but his slow step and steady action
shewed something of solid worth in his character,
that wrought respect in the beholder without
any mixture of fear.—It has just been said, that 701
Finow Fiji performed most of his warlike feats 572
at the Fiji islands: the greater part of the time
that he was there, Hala Api Api†, though a
much younger man, (about thirty,) was his constant
friend and companion; they always fought
near together, and were said to have owed their
lives to each other thirty or forty times over.
The mutual friendship of these two was very
great, although their characters were widely
different in many respects.

To form a tolerable idea of Hala Api Api, 157 142

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[*] No native of Tonga knows his age, for no account of the [829]
revolution of years is kept.

[†] The young chief whose conduct towards Talo has been related.

were not on board; and knew nothing about it [727] till it was all over, and then they were very sorry indeed to hear of it, and thought it a very bad thing: one man acknowledged that he was on board, being there out of curiosity, but that he knew nothing beforehand of the conspiracy, and took no part in it: another acknowledged that he was on board under like circumstances, and he was quite astonished when they began to kill the white men; he declared, that he saved one white man's life, but while he was turning round to save another's, the man whose life he had just saved got killed on the spot. Several regretted [829] they were not at Lefooga at the time, as they were sure they could have saved several of the Papalangies: they all affirmed that they were very fond of the Papalangies!!

Toobo Toa, and Voona, both asked Mr. Mariner why he had chosen to remain at Vavoo; and if they had not behaved equally kind to him as the king, or any of the Vavaoo chiefs. To this he replied, that he preferred Vavaoo to the Hapai islands, as the latter place brought to his mind many disagreeable remembrances: it was where his ship had been destroyed, and where he had met with many insults from the lower orders on his first arrival; besides, he acknowledged that he preferred the disposition of the Vavaoo people generally, and that he thought

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

114 vented him from going on shore so often, or so
far, as he otherwise might have done. He was
171 curious to discover what opinion they had of
[829] the natives of Tonga, and found, uniformly,
that they considered the latter to be a very
treacherous race; whilst these, as already related,
accuse the Fiji people of possessing the
same bad character; but, in all probability,
there is not much difference between them in
[726] this respect. From all that he has seen, and all
that he has heard, however, he is disposed to believe
[727] that the Fiji people fight with more fury
and animosity than the Tonga people, but that
the latter, where they have been seriously
injured, harbour sentiments of revenge for a
longer time. Mr. Mariner witnessed no instance
171 of cannibalism among them, but they made no
266 scruple to acknowledge that such instances were
very frequent, and Cow Mooala's account of
the feast of Chichia, where two hundred human
bodies were served up, was confirmed by the report
of several of the natives of Pau, who were
not, indeed, present, but who spoke of it with
much indifference, as having heard it often from
those who were present, and as being a thing so
likely, that there was no reason to doubt it. He
had it also confirmed by a native of Tonga, resident
at Pau, who acted as his interpreter, and

Mr. Mariner took particular pains to make 727
enquiries respecting the above extraordinary 124
story, with a view to discover whether it was 773
only a corrupted relation of the Mosaic account; 184
and he found that it was not universally known
to the Tonga people. Most of the chiefs and
matabooles were acquainted with it, but the
bulk of the people seemed totally ignorant of it.
This led him at first to suspect that the chiefs
had obtained the leading facts from some of
our modern missionaries, and had interwoven it
with their own notions; but the oldest men affirmed
their positive belief that it was an ancient
traditionary record, and that it was founded
in truth. It seems strange that they should 773
believe an account which serves so much to degrade 829
them, and makes even their very chiefs
to be descendants of bad men, cursed by their
father with the evils of poverty and ignorance.
Nevertheless, they readily own the superiority
of the Papalangies, not only in knowledge, but
disposition to do good; but, on the other
hand, they do not as readily confess themselves
to lie under a malediction: on the contrary,
they maintain that they are far superior to us in
personal beauty, and though we have more instruments
and riches, they think that they
could make a better use of them if they only
had them in their possession. Of the chiefs 773

sometimes to the external eye in the form of a 775
ghost or apparition: but this power of re-appearance 565
at Tonga particularly belongs to the
souls of chiefs, rather than of matabooles. It was 775
thought that Finow the first was occasionally 634
visited by a deceased son of his, not visibly, but 727
announcing his presence by whistling. Mr.
Mariner once heard this whistling, as he was
with the king and some chiefs in a house at
night lying on their mats: it was dark, and
the sound appeared to come from the loft of
the house. Mr. Mariner thinks this to have
been some trick of Finow's. The natives believed
it to be a spirit. It is to be observed [198]
that they consider it *taboo* to whistle, as being [784]
disrespectful to the gods. It has already been
stated, that the gods are believed sometimes to 776
enter into the bodies of lizards, porpoises and 775
water snakes; but this power belongs only to
the original gods, not to the souls of chiefs.

There is no future place of existence for the 775
souls of men but Bolotoo, and, consequently, 784
no state of future punishment; all rewards for
virtue, and punishments for vice, being inflicted
on mankind in this world, as before noticed.
When Mr. Mariner acquainted some of [727]
them with the Christian doctrine of eternal punishment, [829]
they said that it was "very bad indeed
for the Papalangies."

577 have above viewed them, are tolerably well defined, steady and universal; but that, in point of practice, both the chiefs and the people, taking them generally, are irregular and fickle; being in some respects exceedingly honourable and just, and in others the contrary, as a variety of causes may operate. In regard to these virtues, therefore, (in the sense in which we have here taken them,) they may be considered very faulty; though there are several admirable exceptions, whose characters become more splendid and meritorious by the contrast.

As being closely allied with principles of honour and justice, we shall now examine the character of these people, as it regards their opinion of one another; and here we shall find something greatly to admire, and much to be
683 approved of. While *we* accuse *them* of trea-
829 chery and cruelty, *they* as loudly cry out that *we* are calumniators and detractors: for no bad moral habit appears to a native of Tonga more ridiculous, depraved, and unjust, than publishing the faults of one's acquaintances and friends, for while it answers no profitable purpose, it does a great deal of mischief to the party who suffers; and as to downright calumny or *false* accusation, it appears to them more horrible than deliberate murder does to us: for it is better, they think, to assassinate a man's person

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

than to attack his reputation. In the first case, 683
you only cause his death, which must happen to 829
him some time or another, whether you will or
not; but in the latter case you take from him
what otherwise he might, strictly speaking,
never have lost, which he might have carried
with him faultless to the grave, and which afterwards
might have remained attached to his memory
as long as the memory of him existed.
And they not only hold this as a just and honourable [577]
principle, but they likewise put it in
practice; so that instances of calumny and defamation
are very rare. On the other hand, 577
they equally avoid the baseness of flattery, and [576]
even where a man has performed some achievement that is really praiseworthy, they seldom commend him in his presence, lest it should make him vain and proud of himself; and that they are very well able to discriminate true bravery from false we have already stated and instanced in the former volume, where it is also remarked, that a modest opinion of *oneself* is esteemed a great virtue, and is also put in practice: for a farther instance of this, the conduct of the present king may be noticed, when he first came into power, and his admirable speech on that occasion may also be referred to.

In regard to humanity, or a fellow-feeling for one another, much is to be said on both

577 sides of the question. The sentiment itself is
[829] universally approved of, and they speak highly
of Europeans for their mild and humane conduct:
it must be confessed, however, that they
do not so extensively practise it, at least according
to our notions of it, nor even, we may add,
according to their own; which must be attributed
in some to a want of thought, and want
of feeling, particularly in boys and young lads;
and in the older branches of society to motives
of revenge, which, if it be for some serious injury,
562 is deemed almost a virtue. We are here
577 speaking of the men; as to the women, they are
universally humane: a few, indeed, of the principal
wives of chiefs are proud and haughty,
and consequently tyrannical; but, considering
the women generally, they are exceedingly humane
and considerate; and though in their
talkativeness, as in other parts of the world, they
naturally speak of one another's faults, it is
usually of such as are of a trifling nature, and
without any malice, being mostly in the way of
humour or joke: as to considerable faults, such
as a woman's infidelity to her husband, it would
remain as much a secret with any of her own
sex, (if they accidentally knew it,) as it possibly
[578] could with herself! Quarrels among the women
are very rare. There is a lesser species of hu-
577 manity, known commonly by the term good-

569 *hama-tefua,* in which they would go to Lapaha on the day of the race. They wove garlands to adorn their canoe, and when the day came Kalikihevae went on board with four young men, and they sailed to Lapaha, where they took on board Ngongo and his two companions, and then went on to the race. In the race Ngongo's canoe sailed round ten times before his opponents had sailed round once. Then they stood off through the reef, and sailed along in Manovanga. Kalikihevae's husband was on board the canoe of the concubine's son, and when he saw the other boat bear away he leapt into the sea, and swam after it. So he swam and swam, till Ngongo told his mother that they must wait for him, or else he would jump into the sea. Then the boat hove to, and the chief was taken on board, and they sailed away to Hihifo, and came to the home of Kefukaitamaki.

Now Ngongo's father was leprous,[1] and they built him a separate house to live in. His food used to be taken to him to this house. Ngongo, too, went to his father, and one day the leper asked him to go and beg Kalikihevae to chew some food for him,[2] telling him that if she refused he was still to urge her to do it, that she herself should do it, and not another. After a time the woman consented, and food she had chewed was brought to the man to eat; and this was done continually. And the man begged his son, also, to go and bring his mother that he might see her, and then again he told the boy to beg her to have his house moved close to hers that he might see her. And since he did not cease to make this request his house was at last moved close to Kalikihevae's; but she had not yet permitted him to see her. Then the man told Ngongo to go and beseech his mother to admit him into her apartment (*leke*). And the lady had compassion on her son, and bade the people go and crack candle-nuts,[3] and chew them for the chief to bathe. Then they went to the sea, and the man bathed, and his beauty returned, and he lived again with his wife.

About this time a summons came from Mua (the capital) for the chief to return, as the king was dead. So they went to Mua, and after the funeral rites he was installed as Tui Tonga. The story seems properly to end at this point, but the Tongan text associates Ngongo with a frequently mentioned incident.

By this time Ngongo had grown into a young man, and the king sent *matapule* to Loau to beg yam seed. Loau replied that the yam had sprouted and there was no seed. It was really Loau's daughter who was referred to. The king replied, "Sprouted, indeed, but 'tis Nua,"[4] and he sent to bring her. So Nua was brought and became the wife of Ngongo.

VAENUKU AND LEPUHA

[538] Lepuha and Vaenuku were two famous *manaia,* whose profession, in
[584] which they were aided by their families in search of profitable connections,
[829]

6: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1928 OU9 Tonga OU9

was to attract eligible young ladies. These amorous dandies, however, seem 539
to have had no real place in Tongan society, and some Tongans regard them 538
as exotics, belonging to Samoa rather than to Tonga. Families exploited the 584
charms of handsome relatives to win as many brides as possible, with 829
attendant material and social advantages. In Samoan, *manaia* is a young
chief of marriageable age.

The following popular tale recounts Vaenuku's loss of the Tui Tonga's 539
daughter through the wiles of Lepuha.

Vaenuku, who lived at Valu in Eua, was not highborn, but was very handsome. His whole person was handsome, but especially beautiful was his golden hair, which he was wont to keep confined by a turban, and when the turban was loosed his locks gleamed like a cluster of ripe hala fruit. The name of his home was Holoamanu (Resort of birds, that is, of women, who resorted to his home in the evening and left for their own residences in the morning).

Now word was sent throughout the Tongan group that the handsome men should come to Tongatabu, that a husband might be chosen for the Tui Tonga's daughter (12, pp. 179-80). So the handsome men came from the various islands; but the men pre-eminent for beauty were an unnamed man from Haano, in Haapai; Lepuha of Vavau; and Vaenuku of Eua. Lepuha belonged to Leimatua in Vavau, and his compound was called Tapana, hence the expression "hila ki Tapana" (glance at Tapana), because the women, as they passed along the road, used to look aside at the home of the handsome gallant.

Preparations were being made for the festivities, the suitors had arrived, excepting Vaenuku, who seems to have arrived on the day after the ceremonies and rejoicings had actually commenced. When the suitors who had first arrived had gathered together, their principal attendants (*mua*, seconds)[1] attempted to gain an audience with the lady, to arrange a meeting with their chiefs before the marriage ceremony. But in this they were unsuccessful. The maiden kept herself completely hidden; her compound, too, was fenced, and none could enter without permission.

Since the seconds could effect nothing, the handsome men themselves hid on the road to the maiden's bathing-pool, to see the bathing (*mata kaukau*), "For that was the custom in those days of the *manaia*."

Vaenuku came on this day from Eua, unattended by any second. He
guessed that the maiden's bathing time would be towards the cool of the
evening. His kilt was a fine mat of fau fiber (*kie-fau*), and his girdle was [291]
the plait called *tuingapapaimatekitau*, named after the fortress Matekitau. [552]
He came up inland at Laulea, a beach in the eastern district of Tongatabu,
and timed his journey to arrive at Mua, where the Tui Tonga lived, towards
the cool of the evening. When he arrived in Mua he waited until the

THE TONGAN AND THE FIJIAN MAGICIANS

Once it would seem that the magicians of Tonga were more skilled, or 539
possessed more potent instruments for the working of spells, than the
Fijians. Indeed, it is even claimed that *fakalouakau* (witchcraft) was taken 789
from Tonga to Fiji. A very potent plant for the working of spells was 829
totofisi, a plant with dark purplish leaves. A man went from Tonga to Fiji with branches of his plant, presumably of *totofisi*, and had trials with a noted witch doctor of Fiji.

The Fijian had a coconut shell dipper (*hohoni*) which would go and fetch water when he bade it. The Fijian sent his dipper off to get water, but the Tongan sent a branch after it to stop it, and the dipper was broken. There were other trials, but in all of them the Tongan's branches were too powerful for anything that the Fijian could do. When the Tongan returned home he left his branches with the Fijian, and since then Fiji, rather than Tonga, has been the home of magic and witchcraft.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME MAATU

The lords of Niua Toputapu are today called Maatu; but formerly their 539
name was Latumailangi. The name is said to have been changed under 551
the following circumstances.

A girl of Niua Toputapu, Veiongo, daughter of Fuimanono, was married to Finau Ulukalala of Vavau, and went to Vavau to live. After a time Latumailangi, lord of Niua Toputapu, went to Vavau to visit his kinswoman Veiongo, and while he and other chiefs were drinking kava a man came to the house in which they were seated to get the *maatu*, which was some part of the equipment for the bonito fishing but it is not clear just what is included in the term. The *maatu* was in the house, but the man could not enter because of the chiefs. He was walking about outside the house wondering what to do, when one of the chiefs noticed him, and asked him what he wanted. He replied that he had come to "get the fishing outfit" (*utu maatu*). Thereupon the chiefs told him to come into the house, and get what he wanted. Latumailangi was struck by the phrase *"utu maatu,"* and adopted it as his name. Later *"utu"* was dropped and Maatu remained as the name.

A more probable account, which is given on the authority of the late holder of the title, a remarkably intelligent man, states that the name Maatu came to Niua Toputapu from Uvea. A party of Uveans came to Niua Toputapu, and conceived a liking for the name Latumailangi. The chief of Niua Toputapu, therefore, gave his name Latumailangi to the chief of Uvea, and the Uvean gave the name of Utu Maatu to the lord of Niua Toputapu.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 461 829

8. Nae hanga ki fe hoo sipeiti: Where was your spade turned, that is, what has your spade been turned towards?

This is the usual retort to one who begs that which he should have prepared for himself. It refers primarily to the produce of the garden but is used of wealth generally. The word *sipeiti* is not Tongan, but a corruption of the English "spade." Whether, before contact with Europeans, there was a similar expression with the real Tongan word for a spade or digging-stick, we are unable to say.

539 241 461

9. Matenga i vao kaka: Fatigue in barren soil.

The word *vao* signifies a piece of scrub land. The husbandman in preparing for his garden selects a site and clears the brush. This expression is applicable to one who undergoes the labor and fatigue of clearing and planting a piece of land that proves unfertile. It is labor in vain.

539 173 643 581

10. Ne ongo e fena ka ko Nua: Although she has sprouted yet *Nua*.

An early Tui Tonga sent to the chief Loau for one of his daughters. Instead of asking outright for the girl the Tui Tonga's messenger was instructed to ask Loau for yams. Possibly the messenger himself did not know the purport of his errand but Loau at once understood, probably from previous agreement between himself and the Tui Tonga. Loau had two daughters, the younger not yet of marriageable age, the other named Nua, had recently borne a child. Loau, therefore, still in the language of the yam crop, returned answer to the Tui Tonga that one part of the crop was not yet ripe, and that the other part had already sprouted, using the word *fena*, which means a piece of seed yam which has been planted and commenced to grow. The Tui Tonga replied as above, meaning of course that although Nua had borne a child to someone else yet he still wanted her, for she was a very beautiful woman.

11. Oku fena ae tau kei mula ae tau: The crop is sprouting, the crop is still unripe.

As explained in No. 10, the reference is to the answer of Loau to the Tui Tonga, who sent for one of Loau's daughters. One is over-ripe, and the other is not ripe enough.

539 245

12. Paki moe talaha: Pick the remainders too.

In the breadfruit tree all the fruit do not ripen together, and so in plucking the crop the ripe fruit will be taken and the others left to mature. This expression means to strip the tree bare of unripe as well as of ripe fruit.

539 244 622

13. Pala a kahokaho: Rottenness of the *kahokaho*.

The *kahokaho* is a species of yam which grows to a great size and is highly valued. It is a chiefly yam, that is, one especially suitable for presentation to a chief. Even if this prime vegetable has commenced to decay yet it is a *kahokaho*, and something better than the best specimens of many other kinds of yam. Besides what may be called its ethical qualifications due to its rank in the yam hierarchy it is a physically fit tuber, as the remainder of the flesh is not affected by the beginnings of decay.

14. Taka i fonua mahu: Going about or living in a fruitful land. 539
This indicates the general prosperity and comfort of a people when 181
crops are good and none suffers want.

15. Tatau pe tua mo palai: The *tua* just like the *palai*. 539
The *tua* and the *palai* are two sorts of yam, of which the *tua* is much 244
the finer. That which is excellent leaves its proper excellence, becoming the 554
mere equal of things of no account; the chief descending to be no better than the commoner.

16. Toukai mo hono lohu: A crop of fruit and its *lohu*. 539
The crop referred to is the breadfruit. The *lohu* is the forked stick 245
used for picking the breadfruit. When the breadfruit is ripe a man may find that the stick that he has used in a previous season is rotten, and so he has to get another. Probably these sticks are very seldom kept from season to season. The idea is that with the crop one must get a stick
for that crop. So of the needs and opportunities of a particular period the [829]
men will be found to meet them.

17. Ufilei fie ufi: An *ufilei* that wants to be a yam (*ufi*). 539
Ufi is the general name for all kinds of yam. The *ufi-lei* is a small 244
sweet yam. This indicates one of these small sweet yams that wants to 554
be some other sort of yam. Applied to people who not satisfied with being 829
what they are try to be like someone else.

18. Utu ta lau: Harvesting, cutting off leaves.. 539
This is an expression from the yam harvest and indicates primarily 244
a man who digs his yams before they are quite ready, when the tops will have died off. He strikes or cuts off the tops as he digs his crop. The application of such an expression in Tongan is similar to what it would be in English.

PLANTS AND TREES

19. Akau tuu hala: Tree standing (in a) road, and so liable to 539
be splashed with mud, struck with knives, or otherwise injured. 824
This proverb or this explanation is probably modern, as before the introduction of wheeled traffic and of steel implements it would seem that
the road-side tree was not exposed to especial injury. However, even under [313]
ancient conditions the road-side tree would offer itself first to those in search of timber.

20. Faifaimalie naa ke pakii ha lau telie: Go carefully lest thou 539
pluck (break off) a *telie* (*Terminalia catappa*, or *T. litoralis*) 784
leaf. 829
This phrase is a warning to proceed with care lest a tabu be broken. We do not know its origin.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) - 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

dilatoriness in cutting down the tree had provided a mode of ingress to 539
the disturber of domestic peace; "It was your *foui* that did it." [461]

The application is exactly parallel to the English phrase that it is So-and-so's own fault. The full expression as given above is not always used, but one frequently says, "It is his own *foui*," that is, "It is his own fault."

27. Hange ha kainikavea: Like a parasite. 539

Kainikavea means a tree which has taken root in the living trunk or 824
branches of another tree finally growing so large as to envelop and conceal 571
its host. The banyan has this habit. Proverbially the phrase is used of a 829
supplanter, one who usurps the rights and privileges of another.

28. Hange ha lou milemila: Like a strip of *milemila*. 539

The *milemila* is a strip of the outer cuticle of the leaves of plants 245
such as the coconut and fan-palm. These strips turn white when dried and 824
bunches of them are used as head ornaments by warriors and dancers. 301
The expression is used of things that are thin and light, and of thin people. [826]

29. Hange ha lou vahivahi: Like a *vahivahi* leaf. 539

The *vahivahi* is a little plant found in considerable quantity on the 824
island of Eua, whose leaves are in constant motion even when the breeze 554
is scarcely perceptible. Used of one who is very obedient, is never still but 824
always running about doing the bidding of others.

30. Hange ha mahelei to: Like a strip of sugar cane. 539

Applied to a thin person, a narrow piece of cloth, and generally to 824
meagre, scanty objects, the comparison being to a thin, sharp-edged, pointed 826
piece of the outer bark of the sugar cane.

31. Hange ha niu afangia: Like a nut-tree blown by a hurricane. 539
824
522

Used especially of a man who sways with laughter, like a nut-tree swayed by the wind.

32. Hange ha niu auulu: Like a nut tree with the leaves cut off. 539

This is Tongan banter of a tall person. A coconut tree with the 824
leaves cut off is certainly a very lanky looking object. A touch of poign- 826
ancy is given to the expression by the fact that the trees so treated are never good bearing varieties, but an unfruitful kind that nobody cares much about.

33. Hange ha tahii toa: Like heart of iron-wood (*Casuarina* 539
equisetifolia). 824
157

Hard, firm, as we say, "heart of oak."

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

of banana stem was said to be joined to the hibiscus. A strip of the 539 824
banana stem of course makes a very poor ligature, being loose fibered and 554
brittle. 643
764
565

41. Hu mata niu: Entering eye of nut.

There are three depressions at the top of the coconut, but only one of 539
these marks a hole. The unskilled person might try to open the nut by 245
piercing one or other of the two false eyes, but the experienced man goes for the right hole. Hence the expression means to get right on the spot, but is used in the bad, or at all events unpopular, sense of kindness confined to one's own immediate relatives or friends; kindness confined to one particular spot.

42. Kai kape fifiji: Eating hot *kape* (*Arum costatum*). 539

One who has eaten a piece of this root at the pungent stage of its 262
growth will find his mouth so burnt that he will not be likely to join in [137]
the conversation and laughter of those about him. This picture of the man [521]
sitting silent with his stinging mouth is used of one who, ashamed of a wrong done by him, or for some such reason, sits taciturn in the company of others.

43. Koe vaavaa he koe tagata: Branchy, for 'tis man. 539

Man, with the wide and numerous ramifications of his relationships, 824
is the most branchy of all things. "Do you call so-and-so a many branched 829
thing? Why, it is nothing compared to man."

44. Malakia a moojipo: The *moojipo* trodden down. 539

This plant is frequently found in the road-ways, but lives on in spite 824
of being walked upon. So the *moojipo* has passed into a proverb of that 571
which bears up stoutly against ill-treatment and adversity; comes up smiling after every blow.

45. Mamalu a mohuku: Overshadowing of grass. 539

One is overshadowed by forest trees, and this means literally one who 461
undertakes to make a clearing on land where apparently large trees are standing, and finds that the "trees" are but weak and easily cut plants, "mere grass." So of any task seemingly formidable which, when undertaken, proves easy.

46. Motu lou-tou: Broken *tou* leaf. 539

The leaf of the *tou* (*Cordia aspera*) is very brittle; a slight pull 824
snaps the leaf completely asunder. So used of that which is broken right [137]
across, completely severed.

47. Nonofo ae makahunu moe niu motuu: The *makahunu* (hard 539
volcanic rock) living with the ripe coconut. 245

These rocks were used for making the stone adzes and were handy 412
for splitting open a coconut, and breaking it up if necessary. The phrase, 829

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
QU9 Tonga OU9

539 therefore, indicates the coconut living with that which destroys it. Used
245 of one who is in close contact with that which is his undoing. (Compare
412 No. 243.)

829 **48. Potopoto a niu mui:** Wisdom of a young nut tree.

539 A young tree will sometimes bear a crop as though it were clever at
245 that game, but will pass fruitless through another season. So children will
858 at times behave with all the discretion of adults, but such conduct cannot
be expected to be the permanent characteristic of the young.

539 **49. Tautefua a niu motuu:** A ripe nut hanging by itself.

245 There is only one nut on the stalk, but that one is perfect and ripe. A thing of which there are very few, and those few are of fine quality. A man who stands alone, but who is exceedingly capable.

539 **50. To lou oji:** Leaf fallen finished, that is, all the leaves fallen.

184 This is not a familiar form of expression in most parts of the Tongan group, in fact it is ungrammatical; it may have originated in Niua Foou where it seems that such a form is permissible. The phrase is not known, or at least not generally known in Tongatabu. Baker gives, "destitute"; poverty, or rather the poor, being represented as a tree denuded of leaves.

539 **51. Tupu lautolo:** Growing (like) *lautolo*.

824 The *lautolo* is a fast-growing, strong-creeping plant. To grow like this plant is to grow quickly and strongly.

539 **52. Tuutuu kau tala:** Stand about I'll tell.

244 Used for one who makes slighting or offensive remarks about another
578 who, unknown to the speaker, is near by and listening. There is a plantain called the *tuutuu-kau-tala*. Both the name of the plant and the meaning of the expression are connected with the legendary hero Muni, who was cast away at sea at, or before, birth and washed ashore on the island of Lofanga in Haapai. He was found and adopted by a childless couple of Lofanga, but as he grew to manhood his adoptive parents became anxious to get rid of him. Returning home one evening Muni overheard from just outside the house his supposed parents talking about him inside the house. He leaned against a plantain, of the sort now called *tuutuu-kau-tala*, and heard what they had to say. There is a couplet referring to this incident:

Hau ai o tuu kau talai	Come and stand while I abuse
Aeni ne ui ai he hopa ni.	You after whom was named this plantain.

539 **53. Ulu akaua:** Overshadowed with trees.

824 A tree that is dwarfed, unable to reach its full stature and vigor, by
571 reason of a crowd of other trees standing close about it. Used of a warrior who is overcome by the number of foes that press together upon him. Generally of one who, no matter how great his spirit and skill, is overwhelmed by the multitude of difficulties that confront him.

64. Namu ma ka nae ilo ahoa: Smelling of bread but known by daylight. 539 262

The word translated "bread" indicates the fermented paste of the breadfruit and other plants. The fruits were buried in pits and kept for long periods. This fermented paste made up in little balls and cooked, is a nourishing and tasty food. Most strangers, however, are debarred from sampling it by the initial difficulty of overcoming their repugnance to this dainty's extremely gamey perfume, which is as objectionable to the European as some cheeses are to the Tongan. The expression originates in the story of the handsome man *(manaia)*, Vainuku of Eua. A certain Female Tui Tonga, went to Eua to see Vainuku, and on landing on the island sent one of her women to procure fire. In spite of his attractiveness Vainuku liked making up and cooking "bread," and the woman found him in the cookhouse engaged in preparing food for the recently arrived visitors. The woman pulled off Vainuku's turban, and seeing him with head uncovered knew who he was, for it was his hair that was his chief beauty. When night came Vainuku went to court the lady visitors, but they all cried out in disgust at the man smelling of "bread," until he came to the woman who had seen him in the cookhouse; she, having seen him by daylight, knew who he was. 252

65. Nofo e fononga kae ui moa: The visitors having no share, but calling fowls. 539 574

This indicates a man who calls the fowls, not to entertain his guests as he should, but for some other purpose.

66. Ota fuifui vai: Raw fish rinsed with (fresh) water. 539

Certain sorts of fish are often cut up and eaten raw. The flavor of such fish is most appreciated when they are rinsed with sea-water; they are held to be spoiled if fresh water is employed. This is spoiling a good thing by bad handling, and is applied to one who seeing something he likes, for example, an article or piece of work, tries to make one of the same sort for himself, but bungles it. He spoils a good pattern by his unskillfulness. 262 252

67. Ota tae fuifui: Raw fish not rinsed.

Raw fish is usually rinsed with sea-water before being eaten. This is sed of a thing not properly done.

68. Tae ngali vai: Unfit (for) water, or perhaps unworthy (of) water. 539 262

This expression is used of one who has a good reputation and does something unworthy of himself. Literally this expression seems to refer to the eating of raw fish, as No. 67, and to the undesirability of preparing the fish with fresh water. A good fish spoiled by the wrong sort of water; and so a good person spoiled by the wrong sort of behavior. 252 829

539 self unable to make the trip, as for example, through lack of a boat, it is
484 said of him that all the fish he will be able to get will be by thinking about
262 the island; he will have a purely imaginative treat. The expression is used
152 of unsatisfied desires generally, as of a man who wishes to marry a particular woman but can get no further in his courtship than going to visit her and seeing where she lives.

539 **95. Koto kai a kui:** All the eating of a blind man; the reckless
264 eating of a blind man.
183 Used of that which is done recklessly, ignorantly, like the blind man who cannot see to choose his food, but eats what his hand lights on.

96. Kuhu te elo pato te emo: Puffing at the stink smacking in licking, that is, to utter the wry-faced "pugh" characteristic of one offended by a bad smell, and at the same time to make the clicking or smacking noise of one who is licking up food.

Used of those who eat bad food in spite of its offensiveness.

Linguistically this is very interesting. The word "*te*" is apparently
[197] the article found in Māori and many other Polynesian languages (Hawai-
[192] ian, *ke*) although not found, at least as an ordinary article, in either Tongan or Samoan.

97. Longo moe fatu: Silent with the belly.

Applied to one who sits silent under rebuke, making no effort to exculpate himself, but whilst he is thus tacitly accepting the blame of what is charged against him, he is also enjoying its benefits. The original idea is that of one who has eaten to full satisfaction where he had no right to eat. When reprimanded he sits silent accepting the blame, but he sits silent with a full belly.

539 **98. Pani puaka pani fonu:** Smeared with pig, smeared with
262 turtle.
554 The pig and the turtle are favorite and valuable delicacies and will be found more in the abodes of the chiefs than anywhere else. For anyone to carry about on his person the smell of this rich fare is a sign that he is a person of some consequence.

539 **99. Nifo tuu he vale:** Teeth in a foolish man.
829 Good instruments thrown away on one who cannot use them. The wise man procures food for his teeth to chew, but the fool is unable to make this provision.

539 **100. Pipiko moe nifo:** Lazy with the teeth, lazy although there
461 are teeth.

Men have teeth with which to eat, and hands with which to work and to get that which will satisfy the teeth. This is used of a lazy man

who refuses to work and get that which will meet the legitimate demands 539
of the teeth. 461

101. Teu ke hihi kae ola: About to cut out but gnawing. 539

This refers primarily to the coconut. A nut has been split open in 264
order to cut the flesh out with a knife when someone greedily seizes it 576
and chews the flesh out with his teeth, a thing befitting an animal or bad-mannered man. May be applied to a thing which is about to be carried out in a proper, decent way, but is actually done in an unseemly manner.

PRESENTING, BEGGING, KEEPING FOOD

102. Kai pe lea: Just eating speech. 539

Used of a man for whom there is no portion when the food pre- 264
sented to a chief is divided and distributed, but to whom the chief speaks. 554
The individual thus honored by the chief will feel that he has after all some part in the ceremony although he has not received a present of food.

103. Koe ma ka te mate: Ashamed, but I'll die. 539

Used in the first place of begging food. What is the use of being 431
ashamed to ask for food, seeing that if you do not get it you will die, or 735
be very hungry. (It is very common in Tongan to say that one is *mate*, dead, of hunger, thirst, of desire for some thing, without indicating any extreme stress.) This expression is applied generally to making requests of any kind.

104. Motu ka nae navei: Broken but it was bound. 539

Navei are small cords passed through the top of a basket, especially 415
of food, and fastened round the pole on which it is slung. These cords 482
are not the main lashing, which is a long cord or vine passing several times round the basket and pole. The idea is that although the large lashing has been adjusted yet it is well to avoid risks by adding these auxiliary bindings. The expression has this sense of making assurance doubly sure. Sometimes the phrase is rendered, *Motu ka nae kavei*, which has the same meaning as the above except that the *kavei* is the main lashing. This, which seems to be more familiar to the younger generation of Tongans, may be applied to a mishap which has not been the effect of negligence. There has been an accident but those whose business it was to look after [829]
the matter in question evidently did their work carefully and thoroughly.

105. Puia a kaiaji: Sending a forager. 539

When one is sent to procure food for a party he will be the first to 156
eat of what he has obtained. So used of one who is the first to reap the 571
advantage of something that he has been sent to do, or to get.

106. Ua ma kae mae ma: Eat *ma* but be careful of *ma*. 539

Ma is the food made from fermented fruit. This expression indi- 262
cates literally one who has a supply of *ma* of his own, but is very sparing 183
571

5

OTHER MANUFACTURES

133. E homo ae hui a Lafi: The needle of Lafi will be parted with, that is, will be parted with more easily than the thing that one proposes to do will be accomplished. 539 412

Lafi is said to have been the first to use the bone needle and whale's tooth in the manufacture of certain articles. His needle, or piercing instrument, was naturally not a thing to be given away lightly and obtaining the needle has become proverbial for that which is difficult of attainment. (Compare Nos. 340, 358 and 370.)

134 Haihaija Kae heheia: Bound up yet wandering about. 539

The thing that is bound up is wealth, and its owner does the wandering about. Tongan wealth, consisting largely of mats and cloth, is tied up in bundles and kept in the rafters of houses. One who is not well provided with these necessaries of life will be likely to go about looking for someone of whom he may beg a supply. This expression indicates one who, though possessed of ample store himself, keeps his own goods carefully bundled up at home and goes about seeking assistance from the bounty of others as though he had nothing of his own. (Compare No. 106.) 422 735 556

135. Hange ha fala kuo fofola: Like a mat spread out. 539

Applied to a calm sea, also generally to anything with a smooth surface.

136. Hange ha lali foa: Like a cracked drum. 539

When the native drum is broken it is not usually thrown away but is stowed in the house where obviously it must often get in the way. The phrase is applied to useless people who merely take up room about a place. 422 829

137. Nifi eni kae nafa e: Little this but great that, that is, this is nothing to what there is going to be. 539 534

The word *nafa*, translated "great", means really the Tongan drum which consisted of a bundle of lengths of bamboo, closed at one end and open at the other, so arranged that half the openings were at one end and half at the other. A mat was wrapped round the bundle of bamboos, but leaving the ends exposed. The instrument was not stood on end, but laid lengthwise, and beaten with two sticks on the upper surface. In contradistinction to *nifi*, small and thin, the drum is used here as the symbol of that which is large and bulky.

138. Nimo i talafau: Hidden in the *talafau*. 539

Talafau is the space between two rows of plaiting on the bottom of one type of basket (called *kato fakaouo*) of rather superior design and used only for things that will not soil it. A small article might be con- 285

145. Liu ka moko: Lizard climbing upside down. 539

The lizard comes down a tree head first, and there is occasionally a 825
man so skillful in climbing that he is able to imitate the reptile in this. To 554
such a man this expression would be applied, but it is used generally of one who has some special way of his own of doing some particular feat or who possesses some extraordinary skill that enables him to bring off feats that the ordinary mortal would scarcely attempt.

146. Moko looa: Choking lizard. 539

Applied to a person whose neck is stretched out like that of the lizard 825
in his distressful attempts to swallow. (Compare Nos. 167 and 177.) [264]

147. Kuma aka ki he pusi: Rat kicking at the cat. [571

Generally of the weak behaving presumptuously to the strong. 157]

148. Pekopeko a pusi kai moa: Quiet mournfulness of a cat that 539
eats fowls. 825

The hypocrisy of one whose sad-eyed propriety in the presence of 829
others is belied by the mischief to which he readily turns when free from 577
observation is likened to the conduct of the cat whose demure abstention 157
from chicken flesh does not outlast the presence of human observers. (The cat, with its English name *pusi*, is a late introduction.)

149. Pakau a puaka tuu a: Leanness of a pig kept in a sty. 539

The pig kept in a sty does not become so fleshy as the pig allowed 825
to wander freely, but when put to the test of eating the pig from the sty 231
is found to have more fat on him than his brother who enjoyed greater 262
liberty. So used of that which is lean to the eye but is found to have much fat.

150. Puaka ne maa toe fakapelepela: A pig that was clean again 539
covered with mud. 825

Equivalent to the Biblical saying about the sow that had washed turning to wallowing in the mire, and possibly a translation of it. 231

151. Pukepuke a fufula: Grasping a big fat pig.

This is a task that demands the whole of one's strength and care. Tradition says that a big prime pig used to be kept in a sty in Taanea in Vavau, and that Maui Atalanga and his son Maui Kijikiji went to get it. As the younger Maui went to lay hands on the animal his father exhorted him to grasp it firmly lest it escape. This incident, however, does not seem to be claimed as the origin of the expression.

152. Hage ha fononga pulumokau: Like a troop of cattle.

Pulu-mo-kau, bull-and-cow, is used as a name for either bull or cow. It is of course recent. Applied particularly to great waves at sea and also generally to large things. [823]

539 **153. Hange ha pulu kuo ta-halai:** Like an ox that is struck
825 badly.

231 Obviously modern, since the introduction of cattle. The picture is
152 that of a slaughterer who has missed his aim and only wounded the animal. The ox in its pain bellows aloud. Applied to one who laments or weeps without restraint, at the top of his voice.

539 **154. Taupuji hosi:** Touching horse.

825 It is possible that the latter part of the first word is the introduced
231 name for cat, *pusi,* in which case the literal translation would probably be,
183 Cat touching (perhaps fighting) horse. This, however, is by no means certain. The phrase is applied directly to a child taking liberties with a horse, with the chance of earning a kick by his temerity. It is also used generally of running into unnecessary danger. The expression dates from the introduction of horses and would seem to have originated when horses were still new to the Tongan people, and objects of more or less awe.
[192] The Tongans of today, even quite young boys, are fearless riders.

539 **155. Ji namu tae feongoongoi:** To kill a mosquito without giving
825 warning (more literally, without mutual understanding).

571 If one sees a mosquito on a companion and gives it a slap the kindly
183 office will perhaps not be appreciated if the blow takes the human recipient too much by surprise. Instead of gratitude anger may be evoked. So one must be sensible about the way in which even the best meant services are rendered.

539 **156. Ngali ha liha:** Like a nit.

825 Rather an abusive way of alluding to small things.

157. Oji e neveneve: The *neveneve* will be finished.

A phrase meaning very many. The *neveneve* is the nest and young
[802] of one of the spiders found in Tonga. The nest when opened is always found filled with a very numerous progeny, and so it is said of a great multitude that one will sooner finish counting the *neveneve* than be able to reckon so large a number.

158. Oku lau pe e he mokohula oku ikai ha ua oe lalo takapau: The earwig reckons there is no place like under the mat.

The earwig lives under the mat and if disturbed runs back there for
[829] shelter. To him this is the finest place in the world. Used proverbially of out-back folk who have no conception of anything finer than their own restricted surroundings.

539 **159. Tuakoi a ofato:** Mutual support of the *ofato.*

825 The *ofato* is a grub that makes its dwelling in rotten wood. In the
571 Tongan group it is apparently found only, or chiefly, in Niua Foou. These grubs, however close together they may lie, never quite touch and will be

found always to have a thin layer of the rotten wood between them. The 539
expression therefore indicates those who should be in the closest possible 825
contact and give the greatest support to each other, but who do not do so. 571
Beside the ordinary Samoan term *afato*, Pratt (Grammar and Dictionary of the Samoan Language) gives *moe'ese'ese* as a name for this grub. *Moe'ese'ese* means "sleeping in different places" and apparently refers to the same peculiarity as is noted in the Tongan proverb. [For a description of the *ofato* (Samoan, *afato*) see Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, Band II, p. 430.]

BIRDS

160. Hange ha moa liaki kovi: Like a hen deserting badly. 539

Refers to a hen who deserts her chicks before they are able to fly to 235
a roost and look after themselves. Applied to parents who neglect their 855
children.

161. Hange ha momoa fiji: Like a handsome cock.

This is not quite literal, the word *fiji*, rendered handsome, being one 539
of the descriptive terms applied by the Tongans to fowls, and indicating a 235
dark plumaged bird that is reckoned the finest looking of all. Applied to a 826
man of handsome bold aspect.

162. Jitua kae kio: Gone away but squeaking.

The picture is that of a man who has stolen a mother hen from her chickens. He gets off unobserved with his catch but leaves the young ones squawking until they attract attention and the theft is discovered. Used of the traces which one leaves of his wrong-doing and by which he is found out.

163. Lilolilo pea kio: Hidden and chirping.

A young chick hidden from sight will chirp and thus make itself known. Thus an action may be done secretly but there will be some slight indication by which it will be betrayed.

164. Kai lalo hakalo: Eating under the coconut scraper. 539

Coconut broken into small pieces by a scraper is very commonly used 235
for feeding fowls. The thoroughly tame fowls will come and eat the nut 825
as the pieces fall from the scraper but the wilder birds will not venture near. Used of giving up wild shy ways and becoming thoroughly domesticated.

165. Kainga a moa taane: Friendship of a breeding cock. 539

A couple of roosters may be friends but there will come a day when 235
they will fight. Two high-spirited warriors may be friends but they are 829
likely to fight at last. Friendship between those who are apt to fight with 572
each other.

539 **166. Kio mo kokono:** Literally chirping and straining.
A name applied to chickens. Rather an abusive epithet applied to
235 persons meaning that they are chickens, that they cannot do much and
829 what little they do is only accomplished with a good deal of straining.

167. Moa looa: Choking fowl.

Applied to one who is nursing some sting; or who for some other reason sits with uplifted head and preoccupied stare. His attitude is likened to that of the straining fowl. (Compare Nos. 146 and 177.)

168. Moa tangata fie moa taane: Cock who wants to be breeding cock.

"Breeding cock" is perhaps not exactly a literal translation of *moa taane* which means rather a fine, big, specially strong cock. Birds of this stamp, however, are kept for breeding purposes and to discharge the responsibilities of caring for a family. More ordinary cocks find their way to the pot or, more strictly, the banana leaf. This indicates the conceit of
[157] an ordinary rooster who wants to be like his big strong brother. So of the
little ordinary chap who gives himself the airs of his betters.

539 **168. Hange ha veka kui:** Like a blind rail *(veka, Rallus pector-*
825 *alis).*
[137] Wild, uncoordinated action such as might be expected from a blind bird.

539 **170. Kai pe tae hoo veka:** Eat the excrement of your rail.
825 Eat the fruit of one's own work. Used in reproach to one who is
571 enjoying by himself the reward of his labor, by those who think that they
626 should have shared it with him.

539 **171. Kaukau faka-veka:** Bathing like a rail.
825 The rail is not very fond of water. The expression is applied to a
515 human being who manifests the same distaste.

539 **172. Kiki tou veka:** Young rail generation of rails.
825 The young bird is not in the same generation with the full grown
561 birds. Used by anyone who wishes to emphasize that another is much
older than he. I am no more in the same generation with so-and-so than
the young rail is in the same generation with the full grown bird.

539 **173. Taka tahi a veka:** The rail going about at sea.
825 The rail may fly down to the sea or, in ancient days, may have been
515 taken on a voyage by those whose god he was, but in spite of his proximity
to the water he does not bathe. Used of one who goes down to the sea
but does not take advantage of the opportunity to bathe; is contented to
remain dirty.

174. Tolo veka aki paanga: Pelting the rail with money. 539

Apparently a late phrase coined since the arrival of European money. 825
The word *paanga*, money, is also employed to designate the large flat beans 436
or counters used in the game of *lafo*. The reference to money seems more likely. To kill the rail with pieces of money is doubly foolish. Not only is the ammunition wasted but the rail is of little use when he has been killed.

175. Tolongia pe veka kae ofi: The rail is pelted only when he 539
is close. 825

If the bird does not come near the haunts of men there will be no-
body to pelt him. In the same way people will not find themselves an- [829]
noyed or burdened by the commands of chiefs if they keep at a distance [622]
from them.

176. Aoto e manu ki Toku: The bird settles on Toku.

Toku is an islet in Vavau whither sea-birds resort in large numbers. The birds may fly far out to sea looking for food but they make for Toku to rest. Used, for instance, of a man coming home to close his days, or jocularly of a lover making for the home of his sweetheart.

177. Hange ha lupe kai kotone: Like a pigeon eating nutmeg.

The pigeon straining to swallow a nutmeg nearly chokes himself,
and has to stretch up his head and neck to get the nutmeg down. Used [828]
of one who has something on his mind, or who for some other reason sits in company with his head up and an absent-minded expression. The appearance of such a one is compared to that of the straining bird. (Compare Nos. 146 and 167.)

178. Hange ha mata'i moho vao: Like the eye of a wild *moho*.

Moho is the name of a bird. It is very rare now but has been seen
on the island of Eua. Its eye has a beautiful red iris. The expression is [826]
used of a handsome face.

179. Hange ha tavake ta mafua: Like a tropic bird striking its prey.

Graceful action is here likened to the beautiful sweep of the bird's flight as it comes down to the surface of the sea, the attractiveness of its appearance being further enhanced by its striking tail feathers. (Compare No. 36.)

180. Holo ae miji ki he ovava: The *miji* flock to the *ovava* 539
(Ficus prolixa). 824

The *miji* (*Aplonis tabuensis*) likes the little berries of the *ovava* tree. 825
and flies to the *ovava* in preference to any other tree. The *ovava*, more- [137]
over, is a large noble tree and the bird may be supposed to be attracted [136]
by its distinguished appearance.. The application is that people like to flock [571]
to the home of a chief or of a wealthy man. [554]
[621]
[556]

539 **181. Kai aipe manu vaivai i he fangota ae lulutai:** Weak animals
825 are just eaten up when the *lulutai* goes fishing.

773 The *lulutai*, which would seem to mean literally the sea-owl, is alleged to have been a great bird and is identified, though without certainty, with the mythological *kanivatu*, the huge bird to whose breast Kae clung and was borne across the ocean from Pulotu to Samoa. With regard to this proverb it is said that when the *lulutai* went out for fish the larger sea creatures, such as the whale, were the object of his quest to be taken home to his haunts. Smaller creatures were merely tit-bits casually
[571] swallowed by the way. So do the strong prey upon the weak, destroying
[821] and consuming them as a thing hardly worth noticing.

539 **182. Lofa tala matangi:** Tern telling wind.

825 The appearance of the tern (Sterna sp.) indicates the approach of a
821 hurricane. Expressions of this sort are capable of much the same application in Tongan as in English; for example, when you see So-and-So coming
[136] you always know that something is the matter.

539 **183. Lulu taki lulu:** Owl leading owl.

825 Used generally of the mating of things that suit each other. It is said to have originated with the marriage of Finita Puku, son of the Tui
581 Haangana, with Fatafehi Lapaha, the Female Tui Tonga. Both man and woman were exceedingly handsome.

539 **184. Mamahi noa ngutu o fuiva:** Mouth of fly-catcher (*Myiolestes heinci*)
825 labors in vain; or labor in vain of the mouth of the
829 fly-catcher.

461 The fly-catcher has a sweet note, but his singing is mere waste of
[136] time so far as getting food is concerned. So used of anyone who goes to much pains but gets no fruit for his labor. This expression was used of a chief who was vainly assiduous in his addresses to a lady.

539 **185. Tengetenga utuaki maa miji:** *Tengetenga* carrying (food)
825 for *miji*.

829 *Tengetenga* is a local name in Niua Tobutabu (Keppel's Island) for
571 the *fuiva* (fly-catcher, *Myiolestes heinci*); *miji* is also the name of a bird
[136] (*Aplonis tabuensis*). The *tengetenga* is the smaller of these two birds, and the phrase is used for the weak helping the strong, "the poor feeding the rich." (Baker.)

539 **186. Molumalu faka-kaka:** Fine like a parrot.

825 The parrot (*kaka*) found in Eua has an abundance of handsome plumage and with his feathers on looks a large full-fleshed bird. Divested of this showy covering his body is found to be small and thin. Applied to that which is showy but is found to be of little worth.

187. Pekepeka jio ohuafi: Swift seeing smoke. 539

The swift (*Collocallia spodiopyga*) is attracted by the smoke of fires. 825
The expression is used of a person who is constantly making for the fires 829
of his neighbors, that is, who prepares very little food for himself but when 571
he notices the culinary smoke ascending from some other home invites 574
himself there for dinner. The Tongan is very open-handed, but this chap 431
rather overdoes the giving of opportunity to other people to prove that it [136]
is more blessed to give than to receive. (Compare No. 86.)

188. Pikipiki aho: Wings folded by day. 539

Night birds sit with wings folded during the day. The expression is 825
used of those who don't do much by day but who prowl about at night, 824
very often getting into mischief.

189. Tee pato: Duck excrement. 539

The missionaries were the first to bring the Muscovy duck to Tonga, 825
and people who were specially anxious to appear well in the eyes of the 797
missionaries would not hesitate to assist them by cleaning up the mess made 554
by the ducks. The expression, therefore, is used of one who does all he 157
can to secure the favor of the missionaries.

190. Vea tee peka: Vea flying-fox dung. 539

A man called Vea lived for a long time with a great chief but at 825
last did something for which he was punished. Spoiling one's prosperity 571
or long service by a fault.

FISH

191. Angaanga mo fai: The name of a shark whose head is like 539
that of the *fai*, sting ray, and whose tail is like that of the shark 825
called *anga*. 157

Applied to those of uncertain character, now one thing and then another.

192. Faka-ikeika-lahi: Like a big fish.

Applied to one of a bold resolute deportment.

193. Fakalelei a tukuku: Peace-making of a *tukuku*. 539

The *tukuku* is a small fish (one of the Glyphidodon). This is used 825
derisively of the little chap trying to make things right between those who 571
are bigger, or socially superior, to himself. [136]

194. Fotu ae ulua ngalo ae tukuku: The *ulua* appears, the *tukuku* 539
is forgotten. 226

584

The *ulua* and *tukuku* are two fish, the *tukuku* being small and bony. 564
and the *ulua* large and fleshy. If fishermen are catching the *tukuku* and

oned rather to the father (the head) than to the mother (the tail). 539
Instead of the word ***hiku, mahi,*** which means the tail, is sometimes used. 825
592

201. Hola ae fai kae tuku ae foto: The sting-ray has gone but 539
the barb is left. 825

When the sting-ray strikes with its tail the barb that enters the body 829
struck is commonly broken off and left in the wound. The fish may swim 571
away but the poisonous, wounding, painful barb is left. Those who have caused suffering may have gone away but the mischief wrought by them still persists. The evil men do lives after them.

202. Ika faao: Predatory fish; fish that prey on other fish.

It is explained as primarily relating to a fish which comes and seizes [226]
a smaller fish from the hook of a man who has caught it, thus violently capturing the fisherman's property. This is well in keeping with the literal meaning of *faao,* but the expression is used generally of one creature which preys on another.

203. Jii a maanga ika maka: Small mouthful (but) rock fish. 539

The Tongan words *ika maka,* translated "rock fish," indicate fish 825
found under the rocks, at the bottom of the sea, or far from land, and 183
which are of superior quality to those found close inshore or near the surface. The phrase means, therefore, that which is small in quantity but of good quality. (Compare No. 85.)

204. Lakulaku tee-feke: Handling black secretion of octopus. 539

Although the black secretion found in the head of the octopus is 226
eaten with the rest of the fish, it is handled gingerly on account of aversion 262
to its color. The expression is applied particularly to one who is not expert 272
in preparing kava. Instead of grasping the strainer or kava firmly and masterfully the inexpert operator handles the materials diffidently and awkwardly.

205. Luki tenifa i hono tahi: Challenge a shark in his own sea. 539

This species of shark, the *tenifa,* is large and fierce and will attack 226
men. The folly of jumping into the water just where he is and challenging 571
him to single combat is obvious. So the phrase indicates the foolish effront- 825
ery of challenging one to contest in that wherein he is superior or under circumstances which give him a marked advantage.

206. Mohemohe a tenifa: Dozing of *tenifa.* 539

The *tenifa,* a large fierce shark, may doze, but when he wakes he wakes 825
to violent activity. Applied to one who is spasmodic; he is inert at one 157
time but at another is working with fierce energy. (See Nos. 207 and 208.)

207. Mohe faka-tenifa: Sleep *tenifa* fashion; *tenifa*-like sleep.

The shark *tenifa* is a very long and sound sleeper; his slumbers sometimes lasting for a day or more. Applied to people who sleep long and [513]
soundly.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

It is said that a man of Vavau out one day in a canoe saw a *tenifa*
539 lying asleep below the surface of the sea. He dived and fastened a rope to
825 the shark's tail, returned to his boat, which he overturned and sat on the
226 upturned bottom. He then waked the shark, or else it waked of its own accord, and let it drag the boat wherever it would till at length it was exhausted. He then was able to get it ashore where the people killed it and probably ate it. This story is vouched for as true and there is no reason to doubt it.

539 **208. Hange ha tenifa:** Like a *tenifa.*
825 Applied to persons of fierce, destructive temperament.
157

539 **209. Mata ika fai ki he pupua:** Looking at fish in a whirl-pool.
226 Fish in the deep swirling waters found both in holes in the reefs and in places out at sea will be very hard to get, however longingly one may gaze at them. The expression is used of something that one desires but is unable to obtain.

539 **210. Tafitafi o:** Sweeping *o.*
825 The *o* is a small fish of considerable repute and evidently energetic and
571 daring. When this fish appears the other little fishes in the vicinity make for shelter; he sweeps the sea clear. When a great man appears the smaller fry quietly disperse.

539 **211. Tau ae ika taane:** Fight of great fish, as of sharks or
825 swordfish.
578 When battle is joined between these strong fierce monsters of the deep the sea is churned into foam; the contest is long and stern. So used of the struggles of redoubtable champions.

539 **212. Tau ae lei moe tofuaa:** The whale's tooth befits the whale.
825 A big thing becomes a big person.
183

213. Te leleva te pokumei: *Leleva* floating, *pokumei* floating.
539 The *leleva* and the *pokumei* are two sorts of fish, of which the *leleva* is
825 held in high esteem but the *pokumei* is comparatively disregarded. The phrase
829 is used of people of little importance making preparations for anything in imitation of those who cut a bigger figure. For example, it might be spoken pleasantly to children who want to go out anywhere because they see their elders about to go.

FISHING

539 **214. Ai ke mahae pea toki pena:** Let (it) be torn and mended
226 afterwards.
Refers primarily to a fishing net. Go on using it as much as you like and if any damage is done to it, it can easily be repaired. Employed generally of other things besides the fishing net, but with the same meaning.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

certainly be smashed but her human occupants have a chance of life. 539
Human life is more valuable than any boat. 502 [181]

252. Hange ha fana fotu: Like a mast that shows up. 539

Refers to a tall mast which stands out clearly among other masts and 501
which appears for a long distance at sea. Used of that which is obvious. "Plain as mud in a wine glass," "Plain as the nose on your face." (Compare No. 331.)

253. Hange ha lingi lolo ki ha tahi peaua: Like pouring oil on 539
a rough sea. 823

The Tongans have long been familiar with the effect of oil on rough water. Sometimes if no oil were at hand but coconuts were available they would chew coconut flesh and spit it out on to the rough sea. The metaphorical application is identical with the English, "Pouring oil on the troubled waters."

254. Hao he afa kae ngoto he tofu: Safe from the hurricane but 539
sunk in the calm. 829

This picture of a boat surviving great peril but perishing in calm through the folly or carelessness of her crew is applicable in the same way as the like idea is in English.

'**255. Kanakana fai ki tahi:** Eating carried out at sea. 539

At sea some people are sick and cannot eat. A greedy man might 264
put off eating till at sea knowing that some of his party who would have 505
enjoyed food ashore will have no inclination for it at sea, and that thus 571
there will be the more left for himself.

256. Ka ne faifai kau faka-hamahama: If it had been that I had 539
acted *hama* fashion. 501

The *hama* was the leeward boat in the double canoe, also the outrigger 461
in the single canoe. In the double canoe the *hama* is smaller than the windward boat and is less used for passengers and cargo. Employed here to indicate a failure to act to the full extent of one's capacity. Used by one who has done his utmost and has accomplished a difficult task. If I had not done my best (I could not have done what I have done).

257. Kataki e mama moe hopohopokia: Eating a leak with seas 539
coming on board. 505

Kataki is to eat one thing as relish to another. In this expression the 264
seas coming over the side are the relish to the leak. To be involved in the double danger of a leak and rough sea. Generally of a double misfortune or peril.

285. Toki tau ae vaka e: 539

It is difficult to render this proverb literally. As nearly as possible it would be "The boat has but now reached land," but more in accord with the nuance of the Tongan phrase would be an appreciative "My word, the boat has made land at last. It is illustrated by a boat which has struck heavy weather and been forced to run for shelter to some port other than that for which she is making. At last, however, she is able to make the right harbor; the passengers and crew can go ashore for now they have really made the land and are not as before merely seeking a temporary shelter where they do not wish to be. 505

286. Tuai mei uta: Slow from the land.

The idea is that of delay in a place where one is comfortably placed and has occupation. One may keep a boat waiting while he is seeing to his affairs on shore, but there is more sense in spending time in a place where one has resources at his disposal than in wasting it in the condition of helplessness in which men find themselves at sea.

287. Tuku mo fai la: Letting down and making sail. 539

A busy port where boats are constantly coming and going. One boat no sooner comes to an anchorage and lowers her sail than another leaves her moorings and hoists her sail. Refers to that which is always busy and on the move. No sooner is one job finished than another is started, like a boat which accomplishes one voyage only to shortly commence another trip. 504 461

288. Tuu e la mo poupou: The sail standing with support. 539

In the Tongan sailing canoe a support was used to strengthen the mast. The sense of the phrase is to take every precaution; not only hoist your sail but see to it that it stands as firmly as possible. Applied generally with this meaning of doing everything to secure stability, success, safety. 501 183

289. Uta lea i vaka: Land speaking in boat. 539

A landsman offering advice or giving orders in a boat. 502 829

290. Vaka ki ua: (Making a) boat of neck or shoulders. 539

The boat is the means of carrying burdens but inland a boat is of no use, so that the neck or shoulders have to be used for this purpose. 505 482

291. Vakavaka mua: First boat.

The picture is that of a fast-sailing boat which out-distances other boats and reaches harbor first. Applied to one who is ever ready to speak. Before anyone else can say anything he thrusts in his advice or opinion. 539 571 521

CLIMATE AND SEASONS

292. Aho faka-ua: Double day. 539

Used of those times of the month when the moon is so bright that, even after the sun has set, there is sufficient light to perform outside tasks, go journeys, and the like. 821

539 **293. Mokomoko aho:** Coolness (of) day.

821 This indicates the coolness which precedes the dawn, and is thus a
461 harbinger of day. It is used to encourage those who are getting towards
183 the end of a task. Persevere, be of good heart, we are close to daylight, we have nearly finished.

539 **294. To lelei ae ataata:** The dusk falling well, "The sun setting
821 in a clear sky" (Baker).

A sign of fair weather; has the same applications as similar expressions in English.

539 **295. Afa ka e tofu:** Hurricane but there will be calm.

821 An exhortation to people in hardship not to make their present diffi-
571 culties an excuse for neglecting the kindnesses which men owe to each
829 other. The present adversity may make it difficult to do a kindness to a neighbor, but prosperity will return and then the neglected opportunities of showing good-will will be remembered with shame.

539 **296. Fakatofutofu kae hiko:** Calm but about to blow: apparent-
821 ly well but again falling upon evil.

The expression originates with the hurricane. As the wind veers there is a calm; after this interval the wind blows again from another quarter with as great violence as before. The word *hiko* translated above as "blow" has perhaps the signification of moving on to another quarter.
[524] In the game of *lafo* this word is used of a disc which passes another and lies nearer to the scoring-line.

297. Hange ho aho tafitonga: Like a clear bright day (literally day swept by the south wind).

[157] Applied to persons of open, serene countenance.

298. Matafi e tonga ho finangalo: May the south wind sweep your mind; may your mind be serene and unruffled.

[157] The translation given here is probably literally correct but *tafitonga*, which seems literally to mean "swept by the south wind," is felt and written as a single word meaning "clear, serene," and is constantly used of fine weather, and figuratively of the mind.

299. Hange ha aho tuutuu taufa: Like a day of intermittent gale.

[157] A day that is neither consistently fine nor uninterruptedly stormy. Applied to persons and things which show a mingling of various characteristics.

300. Hiko hiko puku: Blow, blow short.

Refers primarily to the wind blowing in short squalls following quickly
[183] one another. Used of things good or bad following quickly one after

another but none of them enduring long. The same expression is also used, 539 821
for example, for the rattling of the lid on a pot of boiling water. 183

301. Kai tae tala: Eating without telling.

Apparently this indicates primarily one who quietly takes food and eats 539
it without inviting anyone to share it with him, or perhaps one who takes 264
and eats food that belongs to another without saying anything to the owner. 422
The expression is used now only of a wind that comes up suddenly without [821]
warning, although in this sense, of course, it is capable of a wide range of
metaphorical employment.

302. Lau matangi fai i fale: Reckoning wind done in house. 539

Statements made by those who have not taken the measures necessary 821
to ensure that their opinion is worth hearing. [571]

303. Tokelau i fale: North in house.

Used of one who sitting inside a house talks about the wind, that it is
north or south, without going outside to see how it actually is. So used of [829]
the man who freely gives his opinion about matters whose true state he has
not the means to ascertain.

304. Toka mono agai: Prepared with (for ?) its opposite.

A wind which blows in one direction but is certain to go around to [132]
another quarter, as do the strong gales that sometimes blow in Tonga
during the summer months. Generally of things and circumstances that are [183]
bound to shift and be of a character opposite to that which they were
at first.

305. Hala pe Vai ka ko Vai: The rain has missed but there will 539
be rain. 821

Vai-mua (Earlier rain, or water) and *Vai-mui* (Later rain, or water) 805
are the names of two moons in the Tongan calendar, corresponding roughly
to February and March. If the rain expected in the former of these two [132]
wet months fails to appear there is still the later wet month to look forward to. It is a counsel of courage, bidding us not lose heart immediately
on the failure of one expected opportunity.

306. Tanaki kai fai ki Vai: Collecting food for *Vai,* the rainy 539
months, about February or January and March, when the native 261
food supply is low. 183

This is an expression of careless indifference, almost of reproof, to [132]
deter one who desires to save food for another time. Why save? Let the
lean months look after themselves.

307. Ka ai ha ofa pea tali ki Uluenga: If there is any kindness 539
(to do) then wait till Uluenga. 571

Uluenga is the name of one of the Tongan divisions of the year, about 183
October or November, when the food supply is scanty. The idea, therefore, [805]

539 is that anyone who wishes to do kind acts had better choose a time when
571 they will be really useful.
183

539 308. **Ngingi uha:** Sounding (of) rain.

821 This indicates the sound of the mallets used for beating out the
native cloth, or the sound of the native drum (*lali*) when there is rain
534 about. The note of the drum or *tapa* mallets is then a sign of rain.
412 Proverbially applied to the signs that something is about to happen. (See
287 No. 564.)

539 309. **Uha kei lelei:** Rain still good.

Rain falling at a suitable interval after the last previous downfall, as
821 distinguished especially from rain which falls after so long a period of dry
weather that many plants have died and are unable to profit by the down-
[183] pour when it does come. Generally of actions and circumstances of all
sorts that occur at appropriate times and are therefore able to achieve the
maximum of good.

SEA AND COAST

539 310. **Anu tahi:** Swimming (floating, wading) in the sea.

481 Used of one in difficulties, exactly as we say, "one has got into deep
829 water."

539 311. **Auhia kae kisu atu pe:** Obstructed by the current but spit-
481 ting on.

183 The picture is that of a swimmer striving against the current with the
water breaking in his face and getting in his mouth; but who keeps squirting or spitting the water from his mouth and battles bravely on. Applied to one who goes indomitably on his way in spite of the difficulties which beset him.

539 312. **Fai tahi:** Sea doings, that is, unusual behavior, sometimes
829 deceitful conduct.

184 The gods of the sea had characteristics different from those of the
land; the conduct of people at sea is not the same as their behavior ashore. It is hard to say what special differences, if any, exist between longshore and sea-going habits and particularly why the idea of craftiness should be associated with this expression. Broadly it appears to mean things that are not done ashore.

539 313. **Fakaita fai ki tahi:** Anger bestowed on sea; "to be revenged
571 on another by punishing oneself." (Baker.)

825 The story is that a party of brothers prepared food, yam with rats.
When the food was divided one of the brothers, apparently the youngest, was dissatisfied with his share and in his chagrin jumped over a cliff into the

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OU9 Tonga OU9

539 **322. Mamaha ae tahi he kuo tuunga kiu:** The tide is low for
823 the plover (*Charadrius fulvus*) can stand.
825 There are a number of phrases for different stages of the outgoing and incoming tide. *Tuunga kiu,* standing for the plover, indicates the time when the sea has receded so far as to leave isolated rocks projecting here and there on the reef, thus affording standing places for the plover. Proverbially used of that which is nearly finished, of which signs of approaching completion are appearing here and there.

539 **323. Nofo i lelenga:** Living at cliff; being at the top of the cliff.
823 *Lelenga* is the name given to a very high bare cliff in Eua, with a
[103] sheer drop into the sea. It is possibly, in this connection at all events, a proper name, but Baker gives it as a common noun meaning jeopardy. The expression *nofo i lelenga* has been explained as referring directly to the cliff in Eua, a fall from which would be certain death, and where, owing to the nature of the coast, the chances of recovering the body would be
[829] slight. Used generally of being in danger, uncertainty of life. Nowadays frequently heard in Christian worship in reference to the uncertainties of life.

539 **324. Paepae kae auhia:** Mounded up but washed away.
823 Perhaps in the first instance refers to the leaves put in the sea to
386 bleach in preparation for mat making. These leaves are anchored by stones put on them. If not this the obvious meaning is still that of something which is piled up but yet washed away by the currents. It is applied to that which one tries to do, to put through, to make fast, but cannot.

539 **325. Ta ki ao ta ki tua:** Having regard to front, having regard
823 to back.

Ta ki liku ta ki ao: Having regard to weather side (of an island), having regard to lee side.

Ta ki liku ta ki fanga: Having regard to weather (rocky) side, having regard to beach.

Ta ki tahi ta ki uta: Having regard to sea, having regard to land.

[183] These expressions have the same meaning. In reference to persons they denote all-round excellence; used of place they mean everywhere.

NATURAL FEATURES OF LAND

326. Fuli ki vanu: Overturned into chasm.

Such a thing will not appear again: it is finished and done with. So of a thing that is finished, whose usefulness is quite over.

327. Ka kele a matavai e kele mo muivai: If the source is muddy the lower waters will also be muddy.

[183] This has its obvious application to things spoiled throughout by cor-
[312] ruption at the fountain-head. Although pure Tongan in form and vo-

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OU9 Tonga OU9

539 **334. Nukualofa fakahekeheke:** Flattering Nukualofa.

103 The name Nukualofa, applied today to the large village which is the capital of the modern Kingdom of Tonga, had formerly a much more restricted application. Speaking generally, however, it is said that this part has been called successively by the names Maufanga, Navua, Nukualefa, and Nukualofa. Of the last two, Nuku-alefa means Hungry-place, and Nuku-alofa, Kindly-place. Flattering Nukualofa is used derisively with the imputation that the expression of "Kindly-place" is mere flattery used to procure food for Hungry-place.

539 **335. Taka Tongatapu tae i Eua:** Going about in Tongatabu with-
484 out being in Eua.

505 The island of Eua although close to Tongatabu is inconveniently situated for coming and going with the prevailing winds; the trip one way is frequently easy but sometimes several days elapse before a sailing boat can make the return passage. Consequently comparatively few people visit Eua. One may live for years in Tongatabu or a stranger may go through Tongatabu from end to end and yet not include Eua in his itinerary. (See Nos. 350 and 352.)

539 **336. Toka i Maananga:** Lying (beforehand) in Maananga.

787 Maananga is the name of the home of the chief Loau who plays so great a part in Tongan legend. He was a seer who resting quietly at home was able to see all that was going on elsewhere, or at least a great deal of it. People might purpose to carry out a project and set to work on it, but it was all known to the chief in Maananga, the whole thing lay exposed
[779] to view in Maananga. This expression, written as one word, is commonly used of omniscience in Christian worship.

539 **337. Tonga mounga ki he loto:** Tonga's mountain is in its heart.

823 This is said to be the reply of the Tongatabu people to the people of Haapai and Vavau, when taunted with having no mountain in their island.
[873] The phrase has been very happily adopted by the late Rev. Dr. Moulton as the motto of the Tubou College, of which he was the founder. Dr. Moulton has of course applied its brave language to the whole of the Tongan group,
539 inclusive of Haapai and Vavau. If this account of the origin of the
133 expression be correct it bears interesting testimony to the isolation of Eua
from Tongatabu. Eua is not as high as Tofua or Kao, the two mountain-
823 ous islands of Haapai, but it is certainly very high land in Tonga and is
186 much closer to Tongatabu than Tofua and Kao are to the main part of the
184 Haapai group, which is in general very low. Moreover, the population of Eua has probably always been greater than that of Tofua and Kao. The people of Eua, although only a few hours' sail under favorable conditions from Tongatabu seem in general to have lived a life of their own, though by no means one always of peaceful monotony.

539 **338. Uakai pea alu ki Fuaamotu:** Hungry, then go to Fuaamotu.
484 Fuaamotu is a village in the eastern part of Tongatabu, a place that
829 to a great number of the inhabitants of Tongatabu seems and actually is
261

at a considerable distance from their own homes. It is moreover a high 539
chiefly village; and therefore a likely place to obtain food. There is a 484
double reference in this phrase; first, that one is so hungry that he is 829
willing to go a long way to obtain food; second, that in going to Fuaamotu 261
he is going to a good place to get it.

HAAPAI

[Haapai is the central portion of the Tongan group, lying almost mid- 131
way between Tongatabu to the south and Vavau to the north. It is a 133
widely scattered archipelago, consisting almost entirely of low coral islands.]

339. Afa kai fai ki Haa-Ngana: A great talk about food after 539
the Haa-Ngana way. 829

Haa-Ngana, the tribe of Ngana, is found in three small islands in 184
the Haapai group. What might be reckoned a great thing in these small islands is not necessarily of such dimensions as to appear worthy of special comment to the inhabitant of a larger place. Much ado about nothing.

340. E seea ae namu Nomuka: Nomuka mosquitoes will be 539
driven away. 825

The island of Nomuka, one of the southernmost of the Haapai group, is deservedly famous for its mosquitoes. The expression is used for that which is very difficult. It is easier to keep the mosquitoes off oneself in Nomuka than to do so-and-so. (Compare Nos. 370, 358 and 133.)

341. Foa ulu efu: Foa dusty head.

This is an abusive epithet applied to the people of Foa in Haapai. It 539
makes a Foa man angry and does not seem applicable to any peculiarity 578
discoverable today in the people or their island, which is large and very 184
fertile. A story is told which refers the origin of the expression to a combat between two chiefs of Foa. One hit the other on the head with his club and made a cloud of dust fly out. It is also said the yams in Foa have large heads with plenty of room for the dirt to lodge when they are dug up; but this strikes one as being rather the finding of fresh cases to which to apply the abuse than the explanation of its origin.

342. Hange ko Fakatoutoa: Like Fakatoutoa. 539

Fakatoutoa is a place in the sea near Nomuka, in the Haapai Group, 823
where rough water is frequently encountered. Used proverbially of rough seas. (See No. 332.)

343. Hilinga mo Tolu koe motu tokanoa: It becomes Tolu, an island that lies right out of the way.

Tolu is a small group of islets lying at a considerable distance from any other portion of the Tonga Islands and is, moreover, rather inaccessible and out of the usual track of boats. The expression as it stands, is ellip- [183]

539 823 183 tical, but would be readily intelligible in a context. It means that a backwoods, out of the way place like Tolu had better not interfere with the affairs of other places. It is a way of telling anyone to mind his own business.

539 829 554 **344. Nae tai ae vaka Mounga-one koe ikai hano eiki:** The Mounga-one boat was smitten because it had no chief.

The story is that a party of men sailed from Mounga-one ~~in~~ Haapai to some part of Fiji. On landing they cooked themselves some chestnuts (*Inocarpis edulis*), which were passed around and eaten in a most informal manner. While this was going forward a party of Fijians appeared, and feeling sure from the haphazard, go-as-you-please way in which the Tongans were taking their food that no chief was present they fell on them and slew them. This incident is jocularly referred to by one of a working party who is lazy, or who perhaps really deserves a rest, and wants to sit down. He sits down with the remark that the Mounga-one boat was cut out because there was no chief there, his meaning being that he will sit down and play the chief for the party he is with.

539 184 **345. Oku ikai ha vaka e mate i tahi ka e mole ai a Haano:** There is not a boat lost at sea but a Haano man perishes there.

The people of the island of Haano in Haapai have the reputation of being such incorrigible wanderers that a boat cannot be wrecked without there being someone from this island among the drowned. Wherever you find a boat you are sure to find at least one Haano man on board.

539 776 183 **346. Kama e tevolo i Kao, Kae tuku e tevolo aau:** Reaching out to, attending to, the devil in Kao, but not noticing your own devil.

In its present form this appears to be modern, and it is impossible to say whether there was an older form in which the word *tevolo* is replaced by something more certainly ancient and genuinely Tongan. The second line is sometimes rendered, *Kae tuku ae tevolo ho ao,* But not noticing the devil in your presence. The expression apparently originated in Haapai, where the island peak of Kao is situated. It is used here as the type of that which is distant: concerned over evils at a distance but regardless of the evils which are close at hand. (Compare Nos. 422 and 423.)

539 823 **347. Tekefili hange ko Kao:** Lying manifest like Kao.

The high conical island of Kao in Haapai is the most striking feature in the seascape for very many miles around. "As plain as Kao" means much the same as "As plain as a pike staff," but is a much more striking and forcible expression.

348. Koe mamao he ko Aka: Distant, for 'tis Aka.

Aka is the name of a reef near the islands of Tofua and Kao, the two volcanic mountains of the Haapai group. To reach this reef involved a long sail from the islands that were the main centers of population, but

canoes used to go there for fishing. The expression is used generally of a 539
long voyage to reach a reef. 823

349. Manako maka fai ki Tofua: Wishing for rock in Tofua. 539

Volcanic stones and pebbles from Tofua are highly valued for several 823
purposes, but Tofua is far from most of the inhabited islands, the anchorage 183
is bad, and contrary winds are frequently met with, especially in returning. Wishing for stones from Tofua, therefore, is to desire something that is worth having but difficult to obtain.

350. Taka Haapai tae i Tofua: Going about Haapai without 539
being in Tofua. 823

The meaning of this is similar to that of No. 335, the volcanic mountain 484
of Tofua being as inconveniently situated with respect to the main portion of the Haapai group as Eua is with respect to Tongatabu. (See also No. 352.)

VAVAU AND NIUA FOOU

[Vavau is the most northerly of the Tonga Islands with the exception 131
of the outlying islands of Niua Tobutabu and Niua Foou. Vavau is high 133
and picturesque and possesses an exceedingly fine harbor. Niua Foou is about midway between Vavau and Samoa.]

351. Kai pe e Ngaunoho ae fua o enau gaue kovi: Ngaunoho is 539
merely eating the fruit of its ill deed. 823

As a proverb this is one of the many expressions found scattered 622
throughout the world which warn erring mortals that they must reap as 626
they sow. Ngaunoho is a village in Vavau, and is said to have been once 829
a flourishing place but to have fallen from its old prosperity through having offended its chief. Its present decrepitude is the fruit that it has to bite on.

352. Taka Haafuluhao tae i Poujini: Going about in Haafuluhao 539
without being in Poujini. 823

Haafuluhao is a common name for Vavau, the northern part of the Tonga Islands. Poujini is a small islet near Haalaufuli in Vavau which is not often visited. This is similar to Nos. 335 and 350.

353. Tala kei i Kapa: Tell still in Kapa.

Kapa is an island in Vavau, lying close to the island of Mala. The 539
route from Kapa to the mainland lies through Mala, where once dwelt a 776
formidable cannibal man or demi-god. Warnings should be given or preparations 266
made in Kapa before passing on to Mala, where one was in deadly 183
peril. Used generally of taking time by the forelock, making all preparations to meet danger before one is actually involved in it.

539 **354. Faka-Niuniua-foou:** Niua Foou fashion.

184 Tongans generally do not ask a stranger his name directly but ask a
576 third person who knows him, whereas the people of Niua Foou make no
574 scruple of a point blank inquiry. Hence to ask anybody his name directly
276 is to act in the Niua Foou way. There is a special application to kava drinking. The *matabule* who is directing the brewing and distribution of the drink may not know the names of all present. A very common proceeding in such as case is to quietly inquire of one sitting near who so-and-so is; but he may say "We'll do Niua Foou way," and then without further invitation the strangers will each tell their names, or someone who knows them will name them out.

OTHER LOCALITIES

539 **355. Faji pe jila tuku ki Manono:** Boom broken—leave it to
183 Manono, or boom broken, impute it to Manono.

Either of these expressions is a literal translation of the words. The origin of the phrase is obscure, but it is applied in two ways in accordance with the two translations given: 1. When a thing is broken, leave it to such a one, or to certain people who are skilled craftsmen and will mend it; 2. When a thing is broken, impute the blame for the mishap to so-and-so.

539 **356. Hange ha tama Polataane:** Like a British man.

829 This indicates one of martial aspect. Presumably the Tongans in the
177 days of their first contact with European seamen grew accustomed to the sight of fully armed landing parties.

539 **357. Koe aho ni ape e tuku ki Uvea:** Today apparently is to be
643 left to Uvea.

466 When the Tui Tonga had a big piece of work on hand, as for example
264 building or repairing his boat, the *Akiheuho*, the duty of feeding the car-
823 penters was apportioned among the various districts in rotation, even as far as Uvea. The Uveans lived a long way off, and on their day the workmen frequently went hungry. So on any day when it was not clear whether any food would be forthcoming for them or not the carpenters were wont to say, "H'm, looks as though today were being left to Uvea." Used generally of uncertainty whether a desired event will happen or not.

539 **358. Ko Vaihi e:** That's Hawaii.

823 Indicates that which is far off and impossible. Much as English people speak of asking for the moon. "Did you get such a thing?" "That's Hawaii," that is, I have as much chance of getting that as I have of
177 getting Hawaii. We are unable to say with certainty, but think it probable that this name Vaihi is no old recollection preserved in Tongan tradition,
609 but a recent innovation since the visits of European vessels. A variation of this is *Ko Vaihi mataloaloa*, that is, yellow-eyed, or yellow, Hawaii; but we do not know the reason of the epithet.

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 This tree in Pulotu is called by the Tongans the *puko lea*, speaking
773 *puko*, and it is curious that a tree in Samoa which has an equivalent name
571 (*pu'a*) and which is apparently the same tree, is called *pu'angangano*,
824 speaking *pu'a*. (Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, II Band, p. 381.)

RELIGION

539 **370. E unua e tevolo:** The devil will be shifted.
776 Applied to one who is very hard to move. The idea is that it would
157 be easier to shift a devil than such a one, hard as devils are to move.
(Compare Nos. 358, 340 and 133.)

539 **371. Fahu ae tapu:** The prohibition is removed.
554 The word *fahu*, which is of great importance in the understanding of
565 the social organization, indicates broadly rights enjoyed by reason of super-
784 ior family rank. A tabu can be removed by one who has this superiority to
the one who imposed it, and *fahu* thus comes to be a technical word for the
removal of tabu. As a question this phrase is used to rebuke one who has
presumed to do that which he should not.

539 **372. Faka-momoa-tea:** White fowl fashion.
825 This seems to be the literal translation, taking *momoa* as the redupli-
787 cated form of *moa*, fowl. The white fowl is said to be an omen bird.
There are two principal senses in which the word is used; first, ominous,
201 presaging evil; second, to weep for the living as though they were dead.

539 **373. Hange ko Hina:** Like Hina.
776 Hina was one of the most talked of goddesses, as Jinilau was one of
773 the most talked of gods. Both are represented as very beautiful. Should
a discussion arise as to the identity of a goddess in a tale the story was
likely to be finally credited to Hina. Similarly Jinilau would probably be
[829] hit on if the name of a male diety were in question. So to say that anyone
is like Hina means that he is much talked of, or much abused.

539 **374. Hia i Fanakava:** Criminal in Fanakava.
778 Fanakava was the name of a very famous sanctuary in Mua, the chief
681 district of Tongatabu, and the home of the Tui Tonga and of other great
lords. Up to the introduction of Christianity Fanakava afforded an in-
violable sanctuary to all who gained it. The expression indicates a person
guilty of some offense but secure from punishment.

539 **375. Ji e he tevolo:** The devil pushing.
776 Used sarcastically to one who is making a poor apology for his bad
183 conduct, "H'm, the devil shoved you into it." This phrase, which is recent,
is said to have originated with a man who went visiting a lady he should
not have visited, and who, when put on trial for his conduct, defended him-
self by saying that he went to the woman without knowing what he was
doing and that he supposed the devil must have thrust him into the house.

413. Faala fakatau ki he muiulu: Looking (for lice) at the back 539
of the head. 183

The back of the head is the favorite camping-ground of lice, and 515
though the huntress may pick up a few strays in other localities it is
at the back of the head that she is likely to make her largest bag. So
used of looking for anything where it is most likely to be found.

414. Tata a tua nima: Nearness of back of the hand. 539

The back of the hand is very close to the palm, but when any- 571
thing is grasped it is the palm only that touches it. Used of one who 602
gets nothing when a close relative is distributing favors. In spite of 826
his closeness he touches nothing.

415. Teeki pea toki fakataane: Break wind and then sit properly. 539

The uncouth first word is often exchanged for *augavale*, behave 827
vulgarly. The phrase indicates one who squats down on his heels, 576
or otherwise sits carelessly in company, and whose unguarded behavior 516
is the cause of an embarrassing accident. Afterwards he sits as he
should (*fakataane* is the sitting posture of the men) but then it is too
late to repair the slip. Generally refers to one who after an accident
takes the precautions that he should have taken before. Shutting the
stable door after the horse has got out.

416. Tufotufa ulu-nima: Distributing (with) fingers. 539

Giving away grudgingly: not grasping heartily and offering with 431
good will, but taking hesitatingly and unwillingly presenting something 183
with the ends of the fingers. (Compare No. 111.)

HOME AND COMPOUND

417. Ana jiko-makii: Cave sullied with excrement. 539

Used of a place of human habitation or resort originally small and 356
inconvenient and rendered still more so by the careless filthiness of
those who use it. In connection with this it is asserted that caves [342]
were the earliest dwellings of the people. (See No. 425.)

418. Hifo i toumua: Going down to (one's own) frontage, that 539
is, one leaving his house and going down to the road straight in 351
front of his place. 461

The frontage is in line with his own property, and so the phrase
comes to be used of one putting his hand to a task that is in line
with his powers, undertaking that which he is well able to perform.

419. Hikihiki kaua: Shifting fence or boundary. 539

"Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark." Boundaries 423
are tabu and must not be tampered with. For the strong to shift the 571
boundary of the weak would be a mark of tyrannous effrontery. The 829
expression is a reproach to those who change what should be inviolably
fixed.

539 420. **Teketeke tuakoi:** Pushing one, sitting with his back to mine.
516 This was sometimes done in sport, two people sitting back to back and
526 pushing against each other. Frequently others would join in helping one or
423 the other side. A proverbial use of this expression does not seem to be
571 known today, but Baker gives: "To push away or remove the landmark of
another to increase his own," which evidently pictures two contiguous compounds as sitting back to back.

539 421. **Hiki moe faliki:** Moving with the floor.
352 The floor of a Tongan house is formed of dry coconut leaves strewed
489 on the ground and covered with mats. A man in shifting quarters will not
usually takes these flooring leaves with him, but this expression indicates a migration so complete that it leaves the ground bare; house, floor, and everything being on the march.

539 422. **Kama e mea ae api kehe:** Attending to the thing in another's
829 home.
571 This is much like No. 423, used of one who neglects his own business
and attends to that of other people. (See No. 346.)

423. **Kama noa he mea ae api kehe:** To exert oneself for nought in the affairs of another compound.

To use one's energy in labors from which he will get no return; the fruit of his labors will go to those who own the compound.

539 424. **Lepa tali ki langi:** Cistern dependent on the sky; a cistern
312 which is filled only by the rain.
[177] The whole matter of water supply and conservation has been modified,
of course, by the introduction of European roofing-iron and tanks. Of the
[178] cisterns dug formerly by the people some were filled by carrying water from
springs; others were filled only by rain. As notable examples of rain-filled cisterns mention is made of natural holes in the rocks near the sea on the
[821] islands of Fotuhaa in Haapai, and Niua Foou. We cannot say whether
any such expression as this was used in pre-Christian days to express the dependence of man on the gods, but it is used now of the reliance of man on heaven.

539 425. **Takamilo jiko i tua peito:** Going round defecating outside
261 cook-house.
515 One should not bring any defilement near the place where his food is
prepared, nor should he in any way dishonor his own home. The expression is much like the English proverb about a bird fouling its own nest. (See No. 417.)

539 426. **Tu mo hokohoka:** Lighting and dabbing, that is, lighting a
372 fire and then dabbing the end of the lighted sticks on the
261 ground to extinguish them; frequently lighting a fire and
letting it go out.

Applied to frequently preparing food during the course of one day.

539 **433. Tama tongia:** Child that can be substituted.

844 If a child dies the mother may get another child, and so be comforted for the loss of the other. This loss is not irretrievable, though grievous.

539 **434. Tama tuu he fae:** Child standing in the mother.

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This is capable of varying application to the character and standing of the child conforming to those of the mother, but its primary reference would seem to be to the dependence of a child's rank on that of his mother. The child of a chiefly woman is chiefly, while the child of a chiefly man by a woman of inferior rank will take the status of the mother.

539 **435. Vale ia tama:** Foolish about a child.

855 The word *tama* is used of a mother's child. A different word is used when speaking of a child as the offspring of a father. This expression refers therefore only to the mother and recognizes the indulgence with which any extravagance should be regarded when it is the outcome of a mother's fondness for her child.

ADOPTION OF CHILDREN

597 [The adoption of children is an exceedingly common feature of Tongan social life.]

539 **436. Ohiohi pea kovi:** Adopted and bad.

597 This expression indicates that the affection of the adoptive parents has been lost, or tinctured with resentment, by some unworthy conduct of the child. The adoption has ended badly, or has come to a period where some at least of its friendliness has been replaced by less friendly feelings. This is similar to *Pelepele pea mele*, No. 439.

539 **437. Tala kovi kae ohi:** Speaking an ill thing but (then) adopting.

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This is to refuse a request, perhaps with some anger, but afterwards to relent and grant what was asked. The idea seems to be that after the first churlishness one acts with as much kindness as though he were adopting into his own family the person to whom he had at first refused, but was now granting, the desired boon.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 **438. Faka-pelea a vale:** Making a pet of fool, with the obvious
571 inference of the uselessness of such kindness.

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439. Pelepele pea mele: Petted and coming to grief.

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Should a favorite child, or any other who is petted, presume on the preference shown him and do wrong he will be punished. His petting will become a spoiling, not in the sense in which we use the word spoil, of a favorite; but the rank of favorite will be spoiled. It has a special reference also to wrong-doing by a chief's wife.

539 **448. Nonofo nonofo iloa ae tae oe nonofo:** Living together, living
592 together, the excrement of the living together (or of those liv-
829 ing together) is discovered.

571 Baker renders it: "To live together for a length of time, and then find out the evil of so doing." This seems a very likely meaning, but the expression is also explained as equivalent to the English, "It's an ill bird that fouls its own nest."

539 **449. Tangi ke vikia kae au ae kainga:** Desiring to be praised
622 but the relatives badly off.

565 This particularly indicates a chief who makes a liberal distribution of
602 his food and other wealth, but overlooks the claims of his own immediate
431 followers. He may earn the reputation of generosity from numerous people who have benefitted by his ostentatious gifts, but those whom every consideration of justice and gratitude should have recommended to his most kindly treatment are left to suffer want. Also written, *Holi ke vikia.*

539 **450. Hala a jinifu:** Wrong-doing of concubine.

595 Wrong-doing, punishment for which involves others besides the actual
183 offender. If one of the wives of a chief proved false to her lord the whole
577 harem shared her guilt and punishment.

539 **451. Ofoofa a kui:** Love of grandparent.

603 The love of grandparents is very sincere but their anger is to be
571 dreaded, as in their wrath they may strike the offending grandchildren how and where they will. The love of one whose affection is undoubted, but whose position of authority is such that he may punish without let or hindrance.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

539 **452. A maumau taimi:** Awake, wasting time.

584 Applied, for instance, to the man who spends his evenings wooing a
[726] girl whom he has no chance of winning. Used also in derision by the warriors inside a fortress to the foe whom they see outside watching early and late for an opportunity to force an entrance.

[177] In its present form with its employment of *taimi,* a corruption of the English time, this phrase is modern, but with the slight change to *A maumaunoa,* waking to no purpose, it may well be ancient.

453. Anefe ha taha a Majilamea: When was there anyone of Majilamea?

A beautiful chiefly girl of Vavau was courted by a chief of Majilamea in Vavau. This gentleman was not a very glib speaker nor apparently was he very lavish with his gifts to the lady. His courting was evidently a rather dull infliction on the damsel. She was wooed and won by another man who was not a chief, but who had the art of pleasing speech and the

539 Another explanation is that long locks were the sign of a betrothed
836 maiden, and the expression means a maiden bethrothed by a chief who
302 after all does not marry her. When finally she loses the virginal strands
585 of hair it is not by being married to the chief she expected but by making
565 a lowlier match. (See No. 459.)

539 **459. Ikai ha lu loloi:** Not a leaf cooked in oil.

Leaves of the taro and nowadays of the cabbage are frequently cooked
262 with coconut and eaten. Used here as the symbol of the smallest and
585 meanest kind of presentation of food. This phrase is not used alone, but as a completion of No. 458. The meaning is that the unfortunate girl has no sort of celebration; not even this trifling food gift falls to her share.

539 **460. See so:** Scaring off sweethearting.

584 Literally of a grave and reverend elder, or some such objectionable
571 person, intruding on young men and maids. Thence of anyone "butting in"
888 where he is not wanted.

539 **461. Vale pe he valeanga:** Foolish in the thing to be foolish
584 about.

829 This refers to one who has been hard hit by the tender passion. A man madly in love may do many things that are not quite in accord with his customary well-balanced sanity, but what else is to be expected from a man in love? He is foolish, but under circumstances in which the whole world is apt to be a little less sane than usual.

539 **462. Viku ae malo o Afitu mo Lakepa:** The passion of Afitu and
584 Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the praise of Afitu and Lakepa is damped, or perhaps the loin-cloth of Afitu and Lakepa is damped.

Whatever the literal translation the expression refers primarily to the disappointment suffered by the handsome (*manaia*) Lolo, son of the chief of Afitu, who had also some connection with Lakepa or its chiefly house. Lolo had been uniformly successful in love until one occasion when he was taking home in his boat a fair lady who preferred another gallant, named Lepuha of Leimatua in Vavau (Lolo also lived in Vavau it would seem), and who jumped overboard and swam ashore and joined her lover. Lolo's chagrin is expressed in this phrase.

[576] *Malo* is a common word for praise, thanks, and possibly the expression means that the praise of Afitu and Lakepa has had a set-back.

[291] *Malo* is also a small loincloth worn when one wants to be unencum-
[282] bered with dress, as in fighting. The native cloth is spoiled by wetting, and so the expression may mean that the cloth is spoiled.

Another meaning of *malo* is the bloom of the breadfruit tree, and the explanation which involves this signification is perhaps on the whole the
[826] best. The bloom of the breadfruit both from its shape and its function as a forerunner of fruit is likened to the membrum virile; and the expression
[831] is thus a very broad jest on the gallant's disappointment.

480. **Tala tae fai tuunga:** Talk without making standing place, 539
that is, to report something without adducing grounds of belief. 829
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481. **Tala tae fakaejia:** Talk without putting a handle to it, that is, to tell something without adducing any proof or grounds of belief.

Baker understands the "handle" to one's talk to refer to appropriate action following on words, and translates the phrase, "To say and do not; to say one thing but do the contrary." The expression probably lent itself to both uses.

482. **Tauange mo koe:** I sincerely desire of you. 539
This is hardly a proverbial expression but is freely used in earnest entreaty. 521

483. **Vale tala vale:** Fool telling fool; one fool upbraiding another for his folly.

Used like similar expressions in English. (See No. 427.)

483a. **Oku longo a Tonga:** Tonga is silent.

Tongans are not in the habit of talking while eating and so this phrase is applied jocularly to a party of Tongans sitting silent at a meal. It is said to have been first applied by Fijians. [264]

DISEASE AND MEDICINE

484. **Avanga kai ate:** Possession (by a spirit) consuming liver. 539
The liver is reckoned the seat of life and of at least some of the 826
passions. The term *avanga* is applied to those illnesses which are caused 753
by demonic possessions. Proverbially this phrase is applied to the yearning 787
and distress of intense love. [832]
It is worthy of note that in ceremonies the liver of a slaughtered pig [622]
is taken and presented to the chief. This is stated to be a presentation to [825]
the chief of the whole of the pig's life. (See also No. 485.)

485. **Kuo toona hoku ate:** My liver is baked. 539
This indicates distress. My life is consumed, wasted away. 826

486. **Foki mei he uhi:** Returning from the *uhi*. 539
Restoration to health from an apparently hopeless sickness. The *uhi* 757
(Evodia hortensis) is largely used in native medicine, so largely that it [137]
perhaps stands here as the type of a drug which will be tried without much expectation of its proving efficacious when the practitioners are at their wits' end.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 **512. Mala fai e tangata:** Curse that man makes.
578 A curse that does not come from the unseen powers but is the fault
of man himself.

539 **513. Muimui a nunua:** Retribution following after.
183 This is the pessimistic statement that sorrow is following on the heels
of men.

539 **514. Toka moe kafa:** Lying with cord, lying down bound.
681 One who is not lying down because he wants to but because he is a
183 bound prisoner and can not do otherwise. It may be translated also, "Existing with cord, existing bound," but the idea is precisely the same of a prisoner in bonds. So generally of a person who must pursue a certain course of action, of things that must of necessity be done.

COMMON PEOPLE

539 **515. Fai faka-fatongia:** Doing compulsory task fashion.
466 The *fatongia* was the forced service exacted from the people by the
chiefs. This indicates a job that one does not set about whole-heartedly
461 because he wishes to do it: but one which he does unwillingly and only
because he must. "Government stroke."

539 **516. Fiemua e tua ki mua:** The commoner trying to outwit (a)
565 chief.
829 The chiefs were the repositories of wisdom and knowledge: the com-
571 moners lacked their intelligence and experience. Consequently for a commoner to attempt to get the better of a chief was a mark of foolish presumption. So used generally of a man trying to outwit one wiser than himself, of an inferior attempting to get the better of his superior.

539 **517. Ha fie matai koia e tangenge:** A would-be craftsman that
554 (that is) large.
Used in rebuke for forwardness, presumption. The nuance of the
183 Tongan phrase is not greatly different from some such English colloquialism as, "Well, that's a pretty tall order." "You certainly have got some hide."

539 **518. Jii kae ha:** Small but appearing.
565 Used of one who wishes to appear to the chiefs or people but has
431 very little that he can take as a present. Notwithstanding the insignificance of his offering he takes and presents it and achieves the prominence that he desires.

539 **519. Kai foto a tua:** Commoner eating sting ray's tail, or as we
726 should say in English, making cannon fodder of himself.
565 The tail of the sting ray was used to tip the spears, and the sense is
411 that of the commoner braving all the dangers of war, with the further

undemocratic understanding that however brave he may show himself he 539
is nevertheless but a commoner. There is a couplet which runs as follows: 726

> Tangi a tua ke tau ke toa, 565
> Kae toatoa toe tua pe. 411

Which, somewhat freely translated runs:

> A commoner wanting to be a great warrior,
> But with all his courage remaining but a commoner.

520. Lolinga a motu: Habit of islet. 539

The word *motu*, translated islet, refers to the smaller islands scattered 184
about the Tongan group. Although the largest island is only about twenty-
five miles long the word *motu* is not used of it nor in general of the other 829
more important centers of population. Different sections of Tongan population do not show the variation in manner and outlook that separates extreme rusticity from extreme "towniness" in white men's countries, but the manner in which the out-of-the-way islander does things excites something of the same half-contemptuous tolerance in the man accustomed to places where the elite of Tongan society are centered, as the country man does in the city man. All such comparisons as these, however, are vastly
in favor of the Tongan over the European. In all places courteous good- [576]
breeding is the rule, and the foreigner's ignorant blunders are passed over with bland indifference.

521. Ngu a tua: Muttering of commoner. 539

A commoner may be vexed at something and complain but his anger 565
is little regarded because of his social inferiority and consequent powerlessness. Another possible rendering is, "power or might of a commoner," but the application would be much the same as above. (See No. 522.)

522. Ngungulu a feiumu: Grumbling of cook.

Very similar to No. 521. A no account man like a cook may do a lot 539
of grumbling but all the same he has to do what he is told and get about 554
his job whether he likes it or not.

523. Ngutu tamulea: Officious mouth. 539

Used of a commoner officiously expressing his opinion in the affairs 565
of chiefs, or generally of one putting in his say where it is not wanted. 829

524. Tala be i tua mamao: Report far outside; that is, the re- 539
ports and conjectures of those who are far from the center of 565
things where only the truth is to be discovered. 622

The compounds of the chiefs were fenced and only the *matapules* and 183
the chosen few could have access to the councils of the great lords, there- 203
fore the conjectures of the rank and file outside the fence were likely to be far from the truth. The word *tua*, translated above "outside" is also used of the common people and "*tua mamao*" may mean "common people far down the social scale" rather than "far outside." In either case the meaning is the same; the unreliable reports circulated in the conversation of those who have no means of knowing the truth.

539 554 627 **525. Tonuhia ae faiekina:** The innocence of the oppressed, or the oppressed is innocent.

This takes a very pessimistic view of the course that justice is apt to run when dealing with the poor and unfriended. The poor man is in the right, but what then? He has none to take his part.

539 565 **526. Tua fehui ua:** Commoner asking twice.

It is not good form for a commoner to question a chief about the subject of his conversation. Should a commoner question a chief and the latter take no notice of the inquiry the commoner would lay himself open to the rebuke of this phrase if he repeated his interrogation.

539 829 **527. Tua tala matangi:** Commoner telling wind.

Baker renders the phrase: "One forward with his opinion of the wind, though among sailors."

539 565 **528. Tua tangata kae eiki fekau:** The man a commoner but the bidding (of) a chief.

This means that one chief has sent a messenger to another chief bidding him do something. Although the herald is a man of no account yet chief number two has to take notice of his message because it comes from lord number one.

539 565 829 **529. Tuki a tua:** Striking of commoner.

This striking is not that done with the fist or a club. It is the impinging of speech on one's mental processes. The common people are not well informed or skilled in affairs, and the phrase indicates the confusing of counsel by the unwise suggestions and ill-founded speculations of the uninstructed multitude.

539 183 [137] [262] [283] **530. Vale ngau fau:** Fool chewing hibiscus (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*); a fool who chews hibiscus.

Term of abuse, but it is not apparent why chewing the hibiscus should be chosen as a special mark of folly, except that the plant is useless as food. The bark of the hibiscus is frequently used as a lashing and is often torn from the branch with the teeth to be utilized in this way. It is possible that the expression may have arisen as a designation of those who had to perform menial tasks; but we have no information on this matter.

CHIEFS

539 565 **531. Aoao ki majijiva:** Useful to poor; according to Baker "kind, thoughtful to the poor."

The care of the chiefs and provision of clothing, bedding and food for them was a heavy tax on the people. This phrase signifies primarily a chief who was easy to get along with: who was satisfied with whatever was at hand.

532. Eiki pea oi: Chief and striving. 539
The expression refers to a chief who, although he is a chief and able 565
to enjoy his rank in safety and affluence, is not satisfied and sets on foot 829
schemes by which he hopes to gain more. The upshot of his endeavors is 183
the loss of what he had. Generally of a man who is not contented with
the prosperity he has, will not leave well alone, and who through his discontented strivings comes off worse than he was before.

533. Hau ki nima: Lord to (by) hand. 539
Refers primarily to those chiefs who enjoyed great prestige not by 565
right of birth but by right of conquest. Used generally of those who 557
acquire privilege or status by violence.

534. Hau pea kui: King and blind. 539
Used of one who is a king but is regardless of the interests of his 643
people. Especially it is employed of one who before his elevation to such 829
high rank manifested good qualities that marked him as one fit for rule,
but on succeeding to kingship changed to harshness and incapacity to win his people's affections. Not unlike Tacitus' "Fully capable of rule if he had never ruled."

535. Hongea moe houeiki: Enduring famine with the chiefs. 539
The chiefs were the great reservoirs into which flowed the food and 565
wealth of the country; it was indeed tabu to eat the more valued kinds of 622
food without first presenting the chiefs with their proper share. In times 731
of scarcity the rank and file came off very badly but those who had the 511
good fortune to be closely associated with the great chiefs were in the way of getting a share of whatever sustenance the country afforded. (Compare No. 544.)

536. Koe lau ia he koe tala ki he tui: That's talk. What, is it 539
telling the king? 578
Used derisively by one man to another who threatens to report his 643
conduct to a third person. Much like, "Pooh, what do I care if you do tell so-and-so? Is he the king that I should mind him?" (See No. 569.)

537. Lea hange ha Pelehake: Speak like a Pelehake. 539
The Pelehake is one of the great chiefly houses of Eastern Tongatabu. 565
We have not discovered whether the Pelehake had any special connection 622
with ceremonial or other speech or whether this proverb refers to the fact 195
that the chiefs generally were the great repositories of information about 537
correct and graceful language and ceremony. The phrase means to speak well, with well-modulated resonant voice and forceful, graceful diction.

538. Oku hiki mai pe ho mua vala ka koe Haafeva pe koe: The 539
front of your *vala* is lifted but you are only a Haafeva man. 565
This refers to the chiefly *vala* or dress, called *vakai*, which consists 554
of a very large piece of native cloth wrapped in several thicknesses round 291

group, certainly in many instances, and probably in all, through association 643
with the Tui Kanokupolu. The expression indicates one who has no 539
right to the privilege of speaking in the royal *malae*, or meeting ground. 644
The expression is used, as would be a similar phrase in English, as a 103
rebuke to one who speaks where it would be more seemly for him to 183
keep silent. 521

543. Laujii faka-Hihifo: Narrow in the western way. 539

Hihifo, meaning literally the point where the sun sets, is the general 103
name given to the western districts of the various islands. Here the 823
district indicated is the western part of Tongatabu, which is narrow, and 643
whose circumscribed area one might naturally expect to find reflected in a 183
paucity of provisions. It is the seat of the great Tui Kanokupolu chieftainship, and its people by a wise use of their resources never fail to set forth a ceremony or banquet with true chiefly munificence. The phrase is used of those who by their prudence overcome the niggardliness of nature.

544. Nonofo mo Tukuaho kae fie kai gako: Living with Tukuaho 539
yet in want of rich food (literally fat). 643

This is a very unlikely contingency, for Tukuaho, one of the Tui 261
Kanokupolu who reigned at the close of the 18th century, was a great 511
chief and those in close contact with him would be sure to be well supplied with the best food that the country could furnish. See No. 535 for a similar expression of the belief that the vicinity of the great chiefs was the place to find the best provisions that the country afforded.

545. Oua e tangi ke tatau Don't desire to be equal 539
Naa ita a Taufaahau: Lest Taufaahau be angry. 829

Evidently of recent origin, as the use of the name Taufaahau began 183
with the famous George Tupou I. whose name it was. The sense is, 565
smaller folk should not try to make themselves the equals of such a mighty 559
chief.

THE TUI TONGA

[The Tui Tonga and his house were the pinnacles of Tongan nobility, 643
claiming descent from the gods. The sister of the Tui Tonga was the Tui 644
Tonga Fefine, Female Tui Tonga, and had rank superior even to the Tui 565
Tonga himself. Since a Female Tui Tonga who was sister of the reigning Tui Tonga did not lose her rank if her brother pre-deceased her, but held it till her own death, the Female Tui Tonga was either aunt or sister to the contemporary Tui Tonga. The first child of the Female Tui Tonga by one of two special chiefs was the topmost pinnacle of Tongan nobility, particularly if a daughter. This first born child was called the Tamaha. Should a son be born to the Female Tui Tonga and afterwards a daughter it would seem that the daughter was the Tamaha. There appears however
to be a little laxity in the use of this title. The actual power of the Tui [178
Tonga has evidently been declining for centuries, and passing more and

of the general behavior and ceremonial connected with dances, kava, and 539
other matters whose chief center and exposition is in the Tui Tonga's 644
court. To live in the midst of opportunity and yet to obtain little ad- 276
vantage from it. 535

549. Pulu e tuku: Easy with the rope; let down gently. 539

The *tuku* is in this instance the rope with which the slab was lowered 643
on to the top of a vault. It is said that the man whose duty it was to 764
arrange the body of a Tui Tonga in the vault would often try to steal one of the fine mats wound round the dead chief's body. To be able the better to accomplish this purpose he would endeavor to get one of his friends on the end of the rope with which the stone cover was lowered over the grave, and would adjure him to let down slowly. If he were shut in the grave he would have to stay there and die, as the vault could not be opened to let him out without imperilling the life of the new Tui Tonga who had just succeeded.

We have heard this phrase repeated with the addition "that I may live"; "Let down gently that I may live," which looks as though at one period the man who descended into the vault ran some danger of being shut in even without wasting time down below trying to steal valuables from the body of the chief. One might hazard the conjecture that it marks a transition from a period when the man who went down into the grave with the Tui Tonga always stayed there and that the story of the mat stealing is an invention of later times. In front of a row of Langis, or Tui Tonga vaults in Mua, Tongatabu, is a row of smaller vaults which are said to be the escorts to the larger Tui Tonga graves to which they
are contiguous. It is stated that these vaults contain the bodies of the [644]
matapules of the Tui Tonga, though there is no statement that the
matapules were made eligible for the grave for the special purpose of occupying their proper official position in the entourage of their dead chiefs. Sometimes the expression is enlarged, *Pulu ho tuku tata ho vae,* Let go gently with your rope, dig in your feet.

Proverbially the expression means to go slowly and give one a chance of escape.

550. Sani Tungua: Tungua glory. 539

The island of Tungua, in the Haapai group, although it is tiny and 644
out of the way, was yet the residence of the Tamaha, the child of the Female Tui Tonga the peak of Tongan nobility. The Female Tui Tonga also seems to have spent much time there. One of the two chiefs who were the usual mates for the Female Tui Tonga holds this island as part of his estates and the modern holders of the title have frequently resided there. All this chiefliness clinging about the islet of Tungua 539
is the boast of its people but the expression "*Sani Tungua,*" rather strangely, 183
is used ironically of one who boasts of what he will do for another and 829
what he will give to him but who has not the material backing to make good his words. The idea evidently is that the resources of the little island are not commensurate with its chiefly pretensions.

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OU9 Tonga OU9

539 piece and knock his opponent's piece off the mat, make it jump off the mat,
524 without disturbing his own first piece. If this move is brought off successfully the man who makes it will have two pieces of his own in good positions, and will have put one of his opponent's pieces out of action. Proverbially it means that there is an obstacle ahead but it can be shifted.

HEU LUPE

223 The sport of *heu lupe,* pigeon catching, was carried out on a mound. Trained pigeons were used as decoys, and when the quarry approached near enough it was caught in a large net mounted on a pair of long handles hinged near the bottom end. The man who manipulated the net closed the mouth of it when the pigeon was inside by bringing the hinged handles together.

539 **587. Ala i jia ala i kolonga:** Skillful in *jia,* skillful in *kolonga.*

223 This expression originates in the sport of pigeon snaring. The mound
where the snaring was actually carried out is called the *jia* and the place
where the work (largely culinary) necessary for the comfort of the sports-
[157] men was done is called the *kolonga.* This expression means literally a
man whose energy and ability are equally conspicuous in either place, and
[829] is freely used of a good all-round man.

588. Fakalaa i jia melie: Enduring sun on lucky pigeon mound.

Although the principal times for the pigeon snaring are the morning
and evening, yet one will put up with the inconveniences of the midday
[183] sun if the sport be good. So in any pursuit one will put up with incon-
veniences and hardships so long as his object is attained.

589. Fakalaa i jia tamaki: Enduring sun in bad pigeon-mound.

[183] The reverse of No. 589: enduring hardship and inconvenience for what
after all proves to be not worth the pains.

590. Faka-mui-manoa: At end of tethering cord.

The *manoa* is the cord with which the tame decoy pigeon was tied. However far the pigeon went it could always be traced along the cord, provided that the near end of the cord was still in hand. It is applied to a thing that has been out of sight for some time, but is at last traced up and found.

Another explanation given is that the decoy pigeon has reached its
[521] quarry without all the cord running out, there is still more to follow, and
it is said to be applied to a conversation or other employment discontinued
for the time, but "to be continued in our next." (See No. 591.)

591. Motu manoa: Separated (from) tethering cord.

The cord with which a decoy pigeon is tied has run out to its full length and been let go. Applied to a thing which is finished; there is no more to follow.

592. Koe fakanavau ke ha? To mark for what? 539

The *navau* is a distinguishing mark fixed to the body of an animal, particularly the mark tied to the leg of the tame decoy pigeon. This is used of marking what is obvious; what is the use of marking what is plain to everyone? It is also used as a very open-hearted and genial response to one who comes to make a request. What are you asking for? Anything that I have and you want, just take and welcome. 223 422 431 571

593. Kuku kaunaka: Grasp handle. 539

A phrase of the pigeon snaring, being an injunction to the men who handled nets to hold the handles firmly lest the birds escape. Like "*Puke-puke a fufula,*" "Seize the big pig," it is an exhortation to devote one's attention and energy to the task in hand. 223 183

594. Mounu vaoa: Decoy pigeon taken to the woods.

Applied to one who has relapsed into bad old habits, like the decoy bird who after all his taming and training has gone wild again.

BOXING, WRESTLING, CUDGEL PLAY

[These sports often formed part of important ceremonies and celebrations.] 526

595. Ta ji ta lahi ta atu pea ke tangi: Little one hits, big one hits, go on hitting, and you will cry. 539 526

The little one can cause very little pain to the big chap by his blows, but the big fellow can make himself felt by the little one. So if it comes to an exchange of blows between the big chap and the little chap it will end in tears for the little one. 571 578 829

This is a word of wisdom, advising the little fellow to be modestly cautious about whom he undertakes to fight.

596. Va feinofi: Striking distance. 539

Primarily a boxing phrase, particularly of the sport called *toutakao* in which a number of combatants participated, men choosing their opponents more or less at random. *Feinofi* means shaping at each other, challenging each other, and *va feinofi* is used of two men who are close enough to each other to spar. Thence simply "close." 526

597. Fetaaki a feiloaki: Cudgel play of men used to each other.

This indicates that each man gives a fine exhibition, as, being accustomed to the other's strokes and style, his own game has the precision that such experience always gives. The point that is emphasized is that both men fight like experts. (See Nos. 468 and 469.)

598. Ojioji palalafa: Coconut-leaf stem finished.

The coconut-leaf stem was used in practising for the club or singlesticks matches *(fetaaki)*. To finish the coconut-leaf stem, or to do one's

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OU9 Tonga OU9

613. Luki aka fai ki Fiji: Challenging Fiji to a kicking match. 539 829 648

Used of an immodeerate boast or challenge. Fiji is a country far from Tonga, and its inhabitants are numerous. To challenge Fiji, therefore, is doubly an immoderate boast.. To reach the scene of action is no mean task, and when the initial difficulty of navigation is overcome one's hands will be more than full with so many antagonists.

614. Matakai ngalo oua e kau ai: Don't count a forgotten *matakai.* 539 524

This refers primarily to the game of *fiji,* or flipping, which consists in flipping one by one a bundle of small light sticks from the bottom of an inverted basket, or some such stand, across which they are laid. The *matakai* in this instance are the sticks. When a player has successfully flipped all the sticks (not so easy by the way as it looks) he says, "no forgotten sticks are to count," thus saving himself from all penalty should any be found to have dropped down and been overlooked. The expression comes to be a sort of general forestalling of the effects of any sins of omission

615. Tua ka matakai pipiki: A chap to stick to the matakai.

The *matakai* is the object with which the game of *liaki,* and other games, were played. This phrase refers to the game of *liaki,* in which one player held a small object such as an orange seed between two fingers, clenching the fist. The man who held the *matakai* put his clenched fists out in front of him while his opponent, without touching him, tried to make him laugh or squirm and drop the *matakai.* A man who was invulnerable to all the attacks made on his nerves or risibility was able to keep his fists tight shut and hold the *matakai.* Applied to one who is adept at sticking to things, who keeps a firm hold on his property, and also applied to one who keeps his own counsel. [157]

DANCING

616. Haka i langi tau: Dancing to suitable music. 539 535 533

Where the music is good and rhythmic the dancing will be easy and attractive, a fit vehicle of rejoicing and calculated to cause pleasure to the beholders. Strictly the word *langi* seems to denote rather the line or group of singers than the music itself. This phrase, written as one word, is freely used in the sense of joy, rejoicing.

617. Malanga i faiva: Getting up during dance. 539 535 183

The word *faiva* is not confined to dances but is applied also to games and sports and generally to any employment requiring skill. The idea of this phrase is that of a man who should go, say, to a dance, not as a performer but simply as a spectator; but who during the dance is moved [524] to get up and join in, though he has not practised for the occasion. He [526] stands there in all his unpractised awkwardness among those who have perfected themselves in the movements. A useful warning for extemporaneous speakers. [537]

request," in some uncertainty as to whether to make the request or not 539
Baker, however, gives the somewhat cryptic forensic phrase, "Generally re- 152
peated; used when two persons report their cases, and the one hearing is 571
alike affected by both." (An English and Tongan Vocabulary, p. 207.) 695

624. Fe-toutou-mo-liliu-aki: "To wander to and fro" (Baker). 539
Constantly changing or going to and fro. 157

Of the different elements of this compound *toutou* is usually employed today as an adverb meaning constantly, repeatedly. Baker gives "alternate" as another meaning, and also has it as a verb, to reciprocate. *Mo* is the conjunction and *liliu* means to change; *fe-* and *-aki* are regularly used as prefix and suffix to make verbs reciprocal or reflexive. The whole word therefore seems to denote a very high degree of instability in opinion or conduct.

625. Hange ha mumu hulu: Like trying to get warm at a fire of 539
dried leaves; a fire that flares up and quickly dies down. 183

Generally of that which makes a great show but is not solid and enduring.

626. Jio kalo jio: Seeing, warning off seeing.

The seeing indicated is that of looking after one's own interests. A [57]
man, in order to get something for himself, goes to a place where he has
no particular right to be and tries to drive off another who is doing the
same thing.

627. Maka fetoliaki: Chipping rock with rock. 539

Baker translates the phrase, "To be of one mind; to use freely from 571
each other's stores." To be of mutual benefit. It is explained as meaning
literally to chip off a piece from one stone with another and then to take
that piece and use it to chip a fragment from a third rock, and so on.
Thus to pass a benefit on from one to another. This was illustrated by the [797]
coming of Christianity, brought by Europeans to Tonga, and taken by Tong-
ans to Samoa and Fiji, and by Fijians to the Solomon Islands. [648]

628. Makaka noa: Hard to no purpose. 539

Noa, here translated "to no purpose" is a very largely used word, and 183
extremely difficult to translate by an exact English equivalent. It is used in
all sorts of contexts with such senses as purposeless, valueless, unreliable, 829
being where one has no business to be, acting as one should not. In the
phrase above the idea is that of a thing being hard where it should be
pliable and soft. The phrase may be applied to that whose conduct is un-
expected, not of a piece with the general behavior of the class of things to
which it belongs. For example, the outlandish behavior of the goat has [825]
won this epithet for it. It may be used of one who goes with great vim
into some job that is not really his concern.

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OU9 Tonga OU9

539 **629. Nei ako maile e kakau:**

This division of the words is merely conjectural, and we have not been able to find a translation or explanation. Baker according to his custom prints the phrase as one word, thus, *Neiakomaileekakau*, and explains it as, "A phrase meaning, do it shall I be the only sufferer." (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p. 209.) Taking the word *maile* in the sense, found in Samoa but not in Tonga, of a dog, the expression may possibly mean, Is this going to teach the dog to swim? Although one may imagine circumstances in which such a meaning as this might come to have the sense indicated by Baker, yet in the absence of all legend accounting for the origin of the phrase it is impossible to judge of the value of any conjecture.

539 **630. Oku pule pe a seleselega:** Chance rules.
777 The unexpected happens; we are in the hands of fate.

539 **631. Pikopiko iku mai:** Winding about, arriving back at the end.

Used of one who turns aside from the road, and after much wandering gets back again at last. Baker gives this expression as applicable to a thing which after being taken from place to place returns at last to the original owner.

539 **632. Sosaa a tangata puli:** Anxiety of man (who is) hid.
571 This indicates one who makes occasional short appearances among others with whom he cannot agree; not so much with whom he has actual quarrels, but between whom and himself there is not agreement as to the proper way of going about things. His presence is a disturbing factor in their lives but they tolerate him, knowing that he will soon go away again, when they may pursue their own course undisturbed.

633. Taimalie a tangata vale: Opportunity of foolish man.
[829] This has its obvious meaning of opportunity thrown away on one who has not the skill or energy to turn it to advantage.

I have been delighted, for hours, in listening to 175
these nocturnal confabulations, and often very much 513
surprised and improved, by the shrewdness of their
observations, and the good sense of their reasonings. 521
When they were all lain down, the chief would say, 175
" Tou tellanoa." " Let us have some conversation."
Another would answer, Tou Tellanoa gee aha, i. e. 513
" what shall we talk about." A third would reply, 521
" Tou Tellanoa ge papa langee." " Let us talk of 829
the men of the sky." They called us "the men of the sky," because, observing that the sky appeared to touch the ocean, in the distant horizon, and knowing that we came from an immense distance, they concluded that we must have come through the sky to arrive at Tongataboo.

I have heard them for hours talking of us, our articles, dress, and customs, and entertaining each other with conjectures respecting the distance of the country, whence we came, the nature of it, its productions, &c, &c.

Their patriarchal mode of life, in which the young- 175
er and inferior part always surround the chief, as
the father of one large family, is calculated much 565
to refine and improve their mental faculties, and to [613]
polish their language and behaviour.

The social intercourse and the ceremonious carriage, which were constantly kept up in the families of the chiefs, produced a refinement of ideas, a polish of language and expression, and an elegant gracefulness of manner, in a degree, as superior and

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

175 which the reader of the former pages can easily account,
643 from their having been rivals for power.

634 Is was the custom of the inferior chiefs, to send
men, two or three times a week, to "fadongyeer,"
175 i. e. to dig, plant, and labour for Dugonagaboola.
643 Sometimes five hundred of these tributary labourers
565 were at work, at the same time, on his estate.
651 That no offence might be given, I applied to him
466 to excuse my services. He laughed heartily at the
[797] idea of my thinking to fadongyeer for him, as he
[829] considered me, he said, a chief like himself.

My labourers finding they had only my estate to
175 attend to, were much gratified, found their work
797 easy, and performed it with cheerfulness. Choosing a pleasant spot, at one corner of my abbee, I built myself a fallee, or habitation, and made a plantation round it, of plantain, bread-fruit, and cocoa trees. From my fallee, I made a sandy gravel walk, six feet in breadth, and about two hundred yards in length, through the abbee to the high road, which ran along one end of it: and planted it on each side with sugar canes.

In about half a year, my plantation began to flourish, and was the object of general admiration, and obtained for me much respect and attention. The young men, as they passed, would ask, "Whose abbee is this?" Others would reply, "Tongatta pappa langee," "It belongs to the man from the sky," or "Moola." "it is the stranger's." As I

175 seduced me: but it would answer no useful end.

797 For the same reason, though it might serve to
show the gross wickedness of a people, in many re-
spects generous, humane and friendly; and might
evince their need of that glorious light of christi-
anity, which modern illuminati would extinguish,
as darkening the light of simple nature, (which,
notwithstanding all the refined speculations of so-
[535] phistry, is too fully proved to be wholly corrupt,) I
forbear to describe the disorderly meetings that
were held, at particular spots, for nocturnal dances,
and the tumultuous excursions of young men
[836] through the country during the night.* If, not-
withstanding the light of divine truth, and the
regulations of a police, in christian countries, so
many harlots fill the streets of every populous town,
it is not wonderful that "feenetakabous," the name
by which, in these Islands, these depraved creatures
are known, should abound in the polluting groves
of Tonga.

175 Here, however, to the honor of the Tongas, it
[829] should be acknowledged, that no Arreoy society
exists on the Island: the idea of the abominable
practises of the Arreoys at Otaheite, they hold in
[839] detestation. They are never guilty of murdering
[847] their children: on the contrary, they have a numer-
[842] ous offspring, to which they are very much attach-

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* Quædam ignorare sapientis est.

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
OU9 Tonga OU9

They cut the stalk of a cane into two or three pie- 175
ces, and planted them nearly upright in the ground ; 197
these shot forth stems at the lower knots, but de- 241
cayed at the top. I planted them lengthways, in 249
furrows, and thus succeeded in obtaining suckers
from every knot.

By this expedient, my plantation of canes so in-
creased after a time, that I had abundance for my
own use, and for presents to my friends. My little 175
farm was a garden throughout. Many came to
offer themselves for workmen, as my land was free 197
from the "fadongyeer," or tax on labour, and my 241
labourers met with kind treatment. I willingly re- [464]
ceived them, as I took much pleasure in agricul- [651]
ture ; and the chiefs perceiving my industry and
success, and entertaining a friendship for me, gave
me permission to cultivate lots of land adjoining to
my own ; and, ere long, I purchased some fields
bordering upon my abbee, so that at last, it com-
prised fifty acres ; and my own household some-
times contained no less than thirty persons. So
great was the fertility of my abbee, that I had yams,
cocoa-nuts, and plantains, in such abundance, that
even in the *hungry season*, or time of scarcity, after
making liberal presents to my neighbours, and feast-
ing my own family with daily plenty, the fruits
were left to drop off the trees. I mention this cir- 175
cumstance, also, to show the honesty of the natives, 685
and their regard for strangers. Though they thought [829]

175 it rather a commendable dexterity, than a crime,
685 to rob European articles, because so rare and valua-
829 ble, yet they would not plunder the plantation of another, especially that of a stranger. Many of the natives
795 around who were pressed with want, came to beg the fruits of my estate. The abbee was robbed however but once, and that was by one man of the lowest order. He was detected by some other natives,
694 who with great dexterity, discovered that he was the person who had stolen some pines and plantains from my abbee, by bringing the fruits to the trees, from which they had been robbed, and fitting them to the branches where they had been broken off. So great is their severity against a plunderer of the plantations, that they would have put him to death, had not I interposed: but they would not be satisfied without tying him up and flogging him.

175 The umbrageous walk, which my thick-set hedge
797 of canes soon formed, was the admiration of all who saw it. It was my pleasure to trim my little shrubbery, and keep it clean and neat: and its delicious fruits and cooling shade, amply repaid me for my trouble. When wearied with labour, in my fields, I found great refreshment in walking or reclining in my embowering harbour of canes, and sucking the juicy sugar they contained. I used to break off a cane at the root, snap it into two or three parts, and, stripping down the cane, suck the pith which was saturated with the sweet juice.

175 manner of doing it rendered the present doubly
797 valuable, and no present could be more acceptable
123 431 and handsome than this, as Mulkaamair liked plan-
482 tains more than all other fruits.

Though he was pleased with the presents sent
175 634 him, yet he had a dignity of spirit, that prevented
431 him, in the scarce seasons, from calling on me, even
[731] though he was in the neighbourhood, and but badly
[829] supplied with provisions. Had I been a native chief, he would have called without ceremony; but he was above seeking assistance from moolee, or the stranger. He was a man of such boundless generosity, that if I even went to him and asked him to let me have a field of his to cultivate, he would laugh, and say, "go and take it." Hence, whenever I understood he was in the neighbourhood, I always took care to dress a pig, and sent it him; and he never omitted to return me equal kindness. This[1] manner of bestowing, was surprisingly refined. If he sent me a pig, those who brought it, would say, "they had brought a pig, but it was very small, and intended for the servants, if I would permit them, for Mulkaamair's sake, to accept it.*" The servants then rose, and thanked the bear-

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* The respectful and refined manner, in which Abigail presented to David, two hundred loaves, two bottles of wine, five sheep ready dressed; five measures of parched corn, and an hundred clusters of raisins, and two hundred cakes of figs, when he was marching at the head of four hundred

[1] **[Erratum: this should read His. Cf. errata sheet, Category 116, p. 235---Analyst.]**

[This page retyped by HRAF.]

805 calendar issued by the government printer. The only virtue [213] of this calendar seems to lie in its possession, not in its use. Dated days are of no significance to the villager except to mark off one Sunday from another and this function is performed equally well or better by church-bell and pulpit-announcement.

212 So far we have been referring to the average villager. The village-overseer and the church-pastor make more use [644] of reading and writing than the villager. For them these [793] techniques are necessary for the study of government or church reports and notices, for the compilation in turn of their own reports. A few others in the village may also try 212 to make effective use of their reading ability. Thus a village school teacher, home in Pangai on vacation, had developed 875 an interest in world affairs through a chance gift of a copy 829 of *Reader's Digest*. Even the simplified English of this magazine was much too difficult for him, and it is doubtful whether he will long keep up his study of the magazine. One [554] suspects that his initial and only interest in it was based on the prestige gained among his fellow-villagers by his [123] apparent ability to discuss with us "in English" obscure subjects whose text was so obviously derived from what to the ordinary villager was the very mysterious page of an English-language magazine.

212 Another villager interested in the use of his skills is Biukala. He carries on a very simplified book-keeping to [451] provide a rough check on the sales of his garden-produce. He is an assiduous student of Biblical commentaries which he borrows from the missionaries in Neiafu. He writes an 212 occasional letter to his aged mother in Tongatapu. He is very keenly interested in keeping alive these skills which he 177 has observed white men such as church-missionaries using so 829 frequently. Here the incentive to use reading and writing techniques of white culture is far stronger than for the average villager. But this comes about from the fact that Biukala, for obscure personality reasons, is much more interested in adapting himself to the white man's culture than he is to the folk-culture of the village. This is particularly evident when Biukala talks of the future he has planned for his son, now a child of barely two years. For this child he talks of professions such as engineering,

which he has read about. That such professional ambitions 212
for his child may be realized Biukala has decided that he 177
must become as much like a white man as possible: 829
particularly in the sense of being able to read and write easily, more particularly in his possession of what to him are large amounts of ready cash. But in this respect [183)
Biukala is a deviant in village-life. He does not represent in any sense the ideals or achievements of village-culture. He is rather an example of the way in which there is within the village, minor inequality in the use that is made of some of the traits that have been taken from white culture into village-culture as the result of culture-contact.

Preparation of Foods

The preparation of food does not show great variety. 252
The staple vegetables are cooked by grilling on hot ashes, by baking in the earth-oven, by mixing with coconut-cream and then oven-baking, and finally by boiling (either with water or coconut-cream) in an empty five-gallon kerosene can. Oven-cooking is the most troublesome method. It demands a large supply of firewood and a long wait before the food is cooked. It is always used for feast foods but for everyday eating there is a tendency for boiling to supplant the use of the oven. Food may be baked by the average household once or twice a week. For the rest, the diet is boiled food. Kerosene cans are at a premium in the village. [415)
They have, after all, many uses ranging from a food container to a baby bath. Each household likes to have more than one as part of the household furniture.

Fruits are eaten raw, crushed or squeezed and then 252
mixed with coconut-cream, baked with coconut-cream, some- 262
times boiled. Apart from coconuts and papaia, however, fruit figures little in the diet of the adult. Children ranging the bush are more likely to eat substantial amounts of wild fruits. Bananas are mostly boiled while green and unripe. Ripe bananas are saved for feasts.

Pork, chicken, and meat are cooked by oven baking. Canned meats and fish are eaten as they come from the can. Fresh fish is baked, grilled, or boiled.

Green leafy vegetables are seldom eaten. Sometimes *taro* leaves are oven-baked between layers of pork fat or

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

adoption is relatively rare in the village.[18] This may be due to two factors. First, married but barren women are rare in Pangai. Of all the married women in the village, informants knew of but two who were definitely barren and could have no children of their own. These were the two women who had permanently adopted children. All the other married women had or had had, children of their own. There is therefore little incentive to permanent adoption. This incentive is lessened by the second factor: there are no strong lineage-feelings among the villagers, nor any strong lineage-groupings. None of them had any association with, nor any interest in, the classic lineages of Tonga as listed, for instance, by Gifford.[19] We soon gave up asking informants for lineage-membership when it became evident that they had knowledge of none or merely said they belonged to the lineage of their father, that is, adding their father's name to the generic term for lineage *(ha'a)*. For some Polynesian groups the continuation in the next generation of a lineage- or descent-group is a matter which is carefully planned and bolstered with both blood and adopted children. The Tongan villager seems almost indifferent to this matter. He may be interested in the survival of his own personality through the continued existence of his own blood-children after his death. This is also a not uncommon feeling among white people. But as for the continued existence of a family-line which has value in and for itself, the villager fails to make any motion of response. The situation would be different, of course, for the Tongan noble, who is proud of his membership in one of the great named Tongan descent-groups.

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[18] Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 26) writes that "adoption was and is exceedingly common in Tonga." He adds that it "may vary from a truly earnest relation in which the child is taken into the bosom of the family, to mere formality." Our data from Pangai obviously suggest that these generalizations of Gifford's do not hold for all Tongan culture. [114)

[19] The statement of Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 30) that "some commoners are not aware of their lineage as such, but most are, and claim relationship to some chief, usually the one under whom they live," hardly applies to the Pangai commoners, none of whom knew their lineage, none of whom would dare to claim relationship to the lineage of the royal family. [565]

feast for the mother's relatives. Inside the house in the 846
public section and separated from the mother by the bark 574
cloth partition, the mother's relatives congregate: three or (602)
four men and perhaps ten or twelve women. A girl makes 846
kava while the group sits talking. A man comes into the 574
house, throws a gift of *kava* onto the floor in the centre of 276
the room and says: "*Malo ae faele*"—"Thank you for the [431]
child's birth." All drink *kava*. *Kava* drinking and talking
continue for the rest of the day. For the second day, visitors
continue to come to the house, but they are fewer and there
is no *kava*-drinking. Male relatives of the mother bring 846
gifts of *kava*, female relatives bring gifts of baby-clothing. 574
After the third day, visitors stop calling at the house. 431
Relatives of the father do not visit during these early days. 602
Toward the end of the ten-day period, they are formally
invited by the father to visit the baby and mother. Food
and *kava* are prepared for their visit.

It is to be noted that the mother's relatives receive first 846
attention and are the only visitors allowed the mother during 574
the early days of the confinement. Only later are the father's 602
relatives present, and then only by invitation. According to 829
village theory, the mother is presenting her husband's household
with an item of great value. It is right, therefore, that
she and her family should be honoured above all others. For
the moment, the mother's family is active. The father's
group is merely the passive recipient of the gift of new life.
It is right, therefore, that this group should occupy a background
position in the birth celebrations.

NAMING

The infant is named within a few hours after birth. 553
The name is given by the father's sister *(mehekitanga)*, by 604
her son or daughter, or by some other close relative of the
father's sister. This person formally asks the privilege of
giving the name or, rather, of naming the name by which
the child shall be known. At the same time she gives the (431)
child a present of clothing or a small baby-mat. Three days [574]
later, the father makes a feast for the name-giver and she
receives gifts of mats and bark cloth which have been [431]
collected together by the father's mother and the mother's
mother.

when they are sure that high feeling has died down. The 583
groom's father will often give a small feast when the runaway 593
couple returns to Pangai. The bride's parents are [574]
generally much more angry, probably because they always
feel that a better marriage could have been possible for their 583
daughter. It is not uncommon for the bride's parents to 593
refuse to see either their daughter or her husband for two 606
or more years—and then to relent only when their desire to see their new grandchild becomes overwhelming. Even then, the first overtures to peace always come from the groom. It is hinted to him that the anger of his parents-in-law has abated somewhat. He secures the largest possible pig.
Accompanied by his wife, his child and his pig, he comes [431]
to Pangai and lays the pig down in front of his parents'-in-law house. If the pig is accepted, and it generally is, then reconciliation occurs and the young couple no longer find it inconvenient or uncomfortable to live away from their home village. Sometimes the parents of both bride and groom agree to celebrate the Tongan side of the marriage forthwith. At other times, they all agree to forget the past, thankful enough that at least the young people are married according to church-ritual.

It is hard to judge the attitude of the villagers to these 583
runaway marriages, or elopements, as compared with their 178
attitude to the more formal marriages. Some young people 829
are inclined to shrug their shoulders and say that the Tongan marriage causes fuss and trouble without adding anything to the validity of the marriage-contract. Older people however, and perhaps the more unthinking young still feel that there is an essential rightness about the Tongan customs and that it is not good to break with them even though one can be legally married without observing them. And certainly, if one's family claims any particular status in the village or enjoys some measure of respect, it would be unthinkable on the part of the elders that the younger members of the family should be married without feasting and gift-giving. One would expect considerable change in the future: generally a tendency for the young to take matters into their own hands, knowing that they need have no shame provided their marriage is church blessed; knowing also that in this way they save their families the expense and trouble of feast-preparation and gift-giving.

even though this knowledge is used only for diagnosis and 757
not specifically for treatment. Thus Sane, our housegirl, 759
came to us one morning suffering from pronounced and 753
painful swellings of the hand and arm. Everyone was 775
greatly mystified by these swellings until it was remembered 164
that on the day before, Sane had been gathering wild
flowers in the village cemetery. She had noticed us on
a nearby beach and had shouted and cried out to attract
our attention. This noise had both disturbed, and been
highly disrespectful to, the ghosts of the cemetery-dead.
They had retaliated by sending swellings to Sane's arm and
hand. The swellings disappeared in a day or so, but had [757]
Sane consulted a medicine man, the treatment would have [759]
been a course of massage. We have no record of any method 775
of laying village ghosts by disturbing or rearranging the 789
bones of a suspected troublesome corpse—a method noted 114
by Collocott.

Many of the villagers are not averse to a consultation 757
with the white doctor provided they do not have to make a 177
two-hour trip to the hospital for this purpose, and provided, 743
too, they are not necessarily expected to carry out the white
man's treatment, especially if this treatment is surgical.
They do not mind swallowing such medicines as aspirin or
sodium phosphate; in fact, they rather welcome the [554]
opportunity to do this since the taking of such drugs rather [521]
increases their prestige in the community by giving them
something of endless interest to talk about with their friends.
Fear of the hospitalization and surgery which their government 743
provides for them at no cost is partly a fear based on 177
the novel and new-fangled, partly a fear based on the knowledge 829
that in the past hospitalization has often been equivalent [657]
to a death sentence. This latter fear is very real among
the villagers and, of course, often well-founded. Irresponsible white medical officers in the past have sometimes thought of their Tongan patients as unprotesting objects upon whom a surgical technique might be polished and refined, irrespective of whether or not immediate surgery was called for, and irrespective of resulting and perhaps unnecessary death.

This and other factors have resulted today in an attitude among many Tongans of going to hospital at so late

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a stage in their disease that the case is hopeless: the patient will surely die if he stays out of hospital, he will most likely die if operated upon. The dilemma of the conscientious white doctor, therefore, is a cruel one: whether to use what skill he possesses in an attempt to save life, an attempt in which the chance of success is small; or whether to keep the sick person out of hospital on the theory that the fewer the Tongans who die in hospital, the more chance there is in the long run of having the Tongans accept white medical skill at a time and stage in their illness when safe and effective help can be given. The white man's medical science will only be accepted by the villager in preference to native treatments and conceptualizations when he has confidence in this science. In the present day relations between white doctor and village-patients, there is nothing more difficult to achieve than this substantial measure of confidence without which white medicine is ineffective, and the pain and suffering of preventable disease among the villagers go unchecked.

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The attitude of fear is no longer a specific attitude directed to this white doctor or that. It applies to the whole system of white medicine. It applies also, therefore, in large measure to those Tongans who have been trained in Suva as native medical practitioners, and who conscientiously attempt to apply in Tonga what they have learned of white medicine. It is revealing to note in this connection that one trained Tongan medical practitioner who, far away from control by a white doctor, practises a strange mixture of white science and native herbalism (mostly the latter), is so extremely popular with the Tongans that they come from far and near among all the northern islands of the kingdom to consult him and to suffer his treatments. They feel confidence in this Tongan because his medicine is nearer ancient Tongan practice than white medicine. The addition to these familiar techniques of a crude surgery and some of the more potent white man's drugs, serves but to increase his prestige among his patients. His treatments combine both the familiar and the strikingly novel in a manner that has irresistible appeal to the Tongan of today who has a foothold in two cultures and is not yet prepared for the best that white medicine can offer.

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The practice of this Tongan incidentally offers a difficult problem for the white doctor who is his theoretical superior. Should the Tongan be disciplined because he is to some degree playing fast and loose with the knowledge of white medicine gained in hospital and medical school in Suva? Should he be allowed to practice unchecked, with the end in view that he is accustoming some Tongans at least to some of the methods and ideas of white medicine, even though he is admittedly "misusing" others? The questions are hard to answer. The white doctor, more thoroughly trained in a scientific tradition than the semi-trained Tongan, may decide that the practice of the latter is nothing but a travesty of white medicine. Hence it should be strictly controlled. On the other hand, the student of culture-change must perhaps recognize that today, the Tongans are still closer to aboriginal culture than they are to full participation in traditional and scientific beliefs of western European culture. From this viewpoint, a Tongan who combines native with scientific medicine, skilfully blending the proportions of the two in such a way as to secure and keep the confidence of his Tongan patients, represents not only what the Tongan wants, but also in a very real sense, what he needs and can absorb, according to his position on that theoretical base line that joins aboriginal Tongan culture at one end to western European culture at the other.

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At this stage, to give the Tongan more than he can adjust to, even though that "more" will theoretically keep him in better health, is to overlook the fact that there is such a person as a patient and not merely a disease to be treated: a patient with all the hopes and fears and anxieties, all the attitudes, beliefs, and customs which make him regard a scientific medical tradition with more than a little scepticism. A rigorous and orthodox practice of this medicine may theoretically cure a disease. At the same time it may also antagonize a patient, a person of flesh and blood, but also a person chock full of the most contradictory emotions. Education of the Tongan in such fashion that ultimately he will accept and welcome white medicine is bound to be slow and laborious, a step-by-step method with the only alternative an all-or-none reaction that is more likely to be none rather than all.

177 A practitioner, therefore, who gives the Tongan only
759 what he can absorb and adapt to at the present phase of
cultural change, may thoroughly shock the rigorously-trained
829 white doctor (forgetful as the latter may be at times of the
757 stubborn resistance to modern medicine among the less-enlightened members of his own culture). But at the same time, such a practitioner may in the long run be doing more for the health of the Tongan by giving the patient what he can take instead of what he ought to need, than all the most freely available refinements of surgical skill and drug therapy. Recognition of a sick Tongan rather than of a disease with a Tongan attached thereto is indubitably one of the more important lessons in the book called culture contact!

KAVA-DRINKING

574 *Kava*-drinking in Pangai is a purely social activity.
276 For some few men the social significance is outweighed by
an addiction to the drink which drives them to drink *kava*
more for the drinking's sake than for the opportunities which
the drinking provides for social intercourse. These men are
574 exceptional, however. For the rest *kava*-drinking provides
the excuse for meetings where everything that can possibly
571 come within the intellectual horizon of the villager is argued
and discussed again and again. For young people these
meetings offer an opportunity to listen to their elders talk.
In this way they learn much of the stock information and
574 traditions of the village. This of course applies only to
571 young men. Young women are not present at these parties,
except only the young girl who has been chosen to make the
562 *kava*. But girls may participate as listeners in the smaller
and more occasional parties initiated by older women for
women only. Older women may also be present at the men's
parties, particularly those women of the household in which
the party is being held. An older woman or two are most
[584] likely to be present at the party if it is pretty clear that it
has been started by a young man wishing to court the girl of
the household who is acting as *kava*-maker.

574 A record was kept for sixteen days of the frequency of *kava*-parties in the village. There is no reason to assume that the number of parties held during these days was in any

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as if to expect the worst. But as far as we could judge, the girl was as honest as anyone else in the village. She is likely to suffer all her life, however, from a blackened character and may find marriage difficult because every possible bridegroom's parents will be unfavourable to her.

We heard of no cases of stealing from the bush-plantations though they are necessarily left unguarded for many hours out of each twenty-four.

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There are no records of crime of violence against persons in the village, nor of such violent activities as brawling, fist fights, or knifings.

RELIGION

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No account of village life today can possibly be complete without some reference to the attitude of the villagers to religion, to the Christian religion, that is, as it is interpreted to the villagers by the various Christian churches. The Christian religion has become an integral part of village culture, as intimately a part of the culture as the pagan religion was to the Tongans before European contact.[29] For the villager today, there is no half-hearted acceptance, no perfunctory belief, no sham ritual. Christianity is for him a red-blooded Fundamentalism that permeates every aspect of his believing life. If it does not always turn the villager into a classic Christian as far as action is concerned, his only excuse, one supposes, can be that Christians in this sense are, and always have been, few and far between. As far as belief in the mythos of Christianity is concerned, the villager need yield to none, white Christians not excepted. This could be proved by many facts: by descriptions of church attendance, church services; by reproducing verbatim some

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[29] What is known of the religion of aboriginal Tonga has been ably summarized by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 287-349). One is struck by the fact, in studying Pangai today, that the villagers seem to know practically nothing of ancient Tongan religion or its practices, nor do they appear to show the slightest interest in this religion. In a very real sense, there is no need for any such knowledge or interest. Christianity presents to the villager an eminently satisfactory solution to the problems that concern his relation to the supernatural world. Knowledge of ancient belief is a luxury that is reserved for the few Tongans who have better access to information about the ancient society than the Pangai commoner.

of the interminable religious discussions that are a feature 771
of many *kava*-circles; by a study of dreams; by considera- 829
tion of the form into which some of the fundamental anxieties
of the culture are cast.

A brief extract from some of our field notes will be 771
sufficient to indicate the way in which religion has become 829
part and parcel of village life. We were talking casually one 124
night with a group of men about the use of omens and other
minor magical practises common in our own society. Then
we asked for the Tongan equivalents of these folk-beliefs.
All the men denied knowledge of any. Sesoni summed up
their attitude by saying with emphasis and with unanimous [782]
approval, that when the villager is worried today, he prays
to God to solve all his difficulties. He has no need for magical [789]
activities when prayer is the only thing that can help him.
The important thing about this statement is not that the [784]
villager never observes magical *tapu*, but that he has come
to look upon the Christian religion as an explanation for all
of life's problems and difficulties.

It is unnecessary to consider evidence of the Tongans' 771
belief in Christianity in detail.[30] Much of it stands in the records of Tongan church history for all to read. All that we do here is to suggest some further facets of the religious life of the village.

Table 14[A] shows that Pangai has a large Roman 771
Catholic membership as compared with kingdom member- 795
ship. The kingdom as a whole is 88 per cent. Protestant.
Pangai is 78 per cent. Protestant. We have no particularly valid explanation for this difference. The first three Protestant churches in this table all represent varieties of fundamentalist Wesleyanism whose doctrinal differences are very obscure to the white inquirer—so obscure in fact, that

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[30] For some of this evidence, see Beaglehole, Ernest, "Psychic 771
Stress in a Tongan Village." *Proceedings*, Sixth Pacific Science 154
Congress (in press), where the attempt is made to show the fundamental conflict situations in the present day village culture. Since this paper was completed Dr. Lopdell has recorded particulars of two further cases of Tongans suffering from mental illness as the result of trying to solve apparently insoluble conflicts between Tongan custom and white economic patterns. The interesting point in this context is that the conflicts have been worked out in terms of religious symbolism and ideology.

A. [See category 116, p. 126--Analyst]

orders to allow no one to pass, and seeing nothing in an 648 elderly native gentleman to betoken royalty, interfered. 643 King George, much amused, attempted to explain the situation in the vernacular, but the marine was obdurate. The poor king had to go without his bath, but his admiration for the sentry outweighed any annoyance on that score. "No wonder," he said, "that Britain is so powerful: these [829] soldiers obey their officers and no one else. Ah! if the Tongans were like that."

This day being Sunday, the High Commissioner attended church with the king, and after service accompanied him home by invitation. He had made a wonderful recovery from *la grippe*, and was in the same high health and spirits as he *had* been forty-eight hours before when visited by the Vice-Consul without notice, and as he had *not* been when seen by the High Commissioner by appointment. He spoke for some time with great animation, repeatedly expressing his thankfulness for the action taken by his chiefs and his release from Mr Baker. He also cordially accepted an invitation to visit the Rapid, which he had previously declined on the advice of Mr Baker. The marines were now withdrawn, and on [645] the following day the Premier was formally dismissed from office by the king.

The vacancies thus created were rather numerous, for 645 Mr Baker was Premier, Minister of Foreign Affairs, President of the Court of Appeal, Auditor-General, Minister of Lands, Judge of the Land Court, Minister of Education, Agent-General, and Medical Attendant to the king.

His Majesty at first wanted to appoint Josateki Tonga [643] to the post of Premier, because, though a chief of inferior [554]

578 persons" had been endeavouring to set my native colleagues against me, and they were so demoralised by the turn affairs had taken that they talked freely of resignation.
[651] There were, in short, rumours of wars everywhere, and not a shilling had been taken as taxes since the High
651 Commissioner left a month before. A little later I heard
439 the other side of the story, which was that an enterprising
436 copra-trader had persuaded the native Premier to proclaim that the Government would accept copra in lieu of money for taxes, and to sell the copra thus obtained to him at a fixed rate; and Tukuaho, being new to the business, had been easily persuaded that the offer was disinterested, and had acted upon it, to the great indignation of the rival traders and the detriment of the Government, as will be explained hereafter.

But the worst news of all, although the least unexpected,
793 was that the Free Church ministers were up in arms.
798 795 They felt, naturally enough, that in Mr Baker they had
[797] lost a powerful champion, and that the Government was no longer to use its machinery for the annoyance of their adversaries, the Wesleyans. The return of the exiles was a triumph for the minority, for among them were the only persons of rank who remained faithful to the old Church.
[797] Mr Baker was their prophet and their *defensor fidei*, who alone could keep alive the spirit of enthusiasm, and insure the punctual payment of their salaries from the annual
[418] mission collections. Naturally enough, therefore, they "talked *lotu*" from their pulpits—that is to say, they vilified the rival sect, and hinted that the removal of Mr Baker was but the preface to the seizure of the country by
186 Great Britain. Now every Tongan is hysterically patri-
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otic, and has a deep-seated conviction that the sovereigns of the other Powers do not sleep well of nights for pondering how they may plausibly compass the enthralment of Tonga. To accuse the chiefs who had taken office in the new Cabinet of selling their country to England was the surest way to make them extremely unpopular. This had been the news from Haapai, and the minds of the people in Tonga, both white and black, were deeply tinged with pessimism. There was a general undefined feeling that something was going to happen.

652 Treasury. The European officials were hard-working men,
wretchedly underpaid, two of them being married men
563 with families. To leave their salaries nine months in
647 arrear was sheer cruelty, but the native officials were
certain to grumble if their claims were given precedence.
563 When, however, a few days later, a proposal to pay the
647 European officials was laid before the king, he laughed
643 and said, "Why not? We Tongans can live on a bit of
829 yam or *kumala*, but these white men must eat money or
die of hunger. Let them be paid."

655 One of Mr Baker's later freaks had been to import, at
great expense, a number of labourers from Mangaia in the
Cook group, to form banana plantations on a large scale.
To make the prospect of earning working expenses still
more illusory, he had ordered railway plant to take the
bananas to the steamer, and had even included a passenger
car, the distance being at most a mile. We had now to
pay off these labourers and send them home. They had
done little work, and even if they had, the proceeds of
their labour would have gone into the pockets of the New
Zealand firm who had contracted to buy the bananas.
652 This charge and the Europeans' arrears of salary nearly
swallowed up our scanty balance.

645 Our financial difficulties did not affect the spirits of the Government employees. The Premier's clerks were thoroughly happy with their new toys. Mataka, the chief clerk, had unearthed the Great Seal and a box of wafers, and was affixing it to blank sheets of note-paper. Sibu, his junior, was experimenting with a very messy contrivance, called, I believe, a pantograph, by squeegeeing printing-ink upon a stencil-paper, whence it travelled to his

651 wards most disastrous results, and led to a lawsuit which, though amusing enough in the facts it brought to light, wasted seventeen days of valuable time. I felt bound to compromise the matter in the most advantageous manner possible, and to content myself by making the trader sign a bond which left the Government quite free as to the amount of copra they delivered, and allowed them to receive money for taxes after January 1, four months hence. I had many times to curse Tukuaho's naïveté and good-nature when I saw taxpayers turned away from the tax-office windows with money in their hands, and carts full of copra passing the Government sheds on the way to the traders', while the Treasury safes were nearly empty.

609 During the next few days it was clear enough that, friendly as my colleagues were, the people did not care to
563 conceal their distrust. This was easily explained. The white traders as a body were quiet, law-abiding men, but there was the usual proportion of malcontents who are "agin any Guv'ment." If these people must have a Government, they infinitely prefer a purely native one, which allows them opportunities unattainable when a countryman of their own is at the head of affairs. Some of these, fearing that my presence would upset their pet schemes of abolition of the poll-tax on Europeans and the Customs dues, had been telling the natives that I had been sent to
[186] Tonga to smooth the way for annexation. This is the one
[829] story that every Tongan will believe, even though a white man has told it to him, and I knew that it would take
793 months of hard work to live it down. The Free Church
798 ministers, moreover, had not been idle, and their per-
645

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

did not make matters better. He returned from spying 645
with black care on his brow, and with rumours of war 578
on his lips. The people were talking of fighting; they 645
were not going to submit tamely to the yoke of Tungi 578
and his son. "When was Haapai under the authority of 829
the Tongatabu chiefs?" But their resentment was not [634]
confined to Tukuaho—poor good-natured Fatafehi, their
own Governor, came in for a share of the obloquy. Had 634
he not sold his country to England? And, as a proof of 186
it, here was a white man sent down by the British Government 578
to meddle in their affairs. Tukuaho was much
depressed, but, fortunately, at this juncture the burly
Governor himself came in bursting with good-humour.
He had heard the news too, but it did not disturb him in
the least. As a descendant of the Immortals, human [554]
affairs were never more to him than food for amusement.
His own rank was too secure for any popular aberration
to disturb his composure, and his digestion was too good
to allow him to look far into the future. "Let them
alone," he said; "they're all fools. All that we have to do [643]
is to prevent the king from listening to these Free Church
ministers. Only wait until the *bolotu* on Sunday, then
we'll talk to them. No, thanks. I have just eaten. I
am full." The son of the Immortals sat down, and we
got to business.

The first thing to do was to persuade the king to hold a 645
Privy Council, and to appoint me a Minister of the Crown; 643
the next, to pass certain draft Ordinances restraining the 177
public expenditure within the limits of the Budget. First, 652
I had to explain to my fellow-conspirators what a Budget 645
really is. "But," I asked, "how is it that you do not 642

645 were still in a good humour, we were to urge upon him
[643] the necessity of returning to Tongatabu to hold a great
[651] meeting of the people, and order them to pay their taxes.
[624] We sat on far into the night, discussing our plan of cam-
[625] paign between the bowls of kava, until the Head Jailer
[203] and the Sub-Inspector of Police, both malcontents, came
in, ostensibly to do us honour, but in reality to hear us
[203] talk and spread the news. But when they had all gone
Peter's moon-face clouded, and he whispered his dire
208 tidings into Tukuaho's willing ear. The town was sus-
829 picious and uncomfortable. "Tukuaho sits all day with
609 the white man writing. Let them write on. The coun-
186 try will not be lost to us by writings. There will be war
before that happens."

565 troubles were at their worst in 1886 Nuku held a *fono*,
646 and thus addressed his people:—

"All the great nations of the earth have made treaties
565 646 with Tonga. We have a treaty with Germany, a treaty of
829 mutual love and respect. We have a treaty with France:
this is for the mutual protection of religion. We have a
treaty with America: this is to secure freedom of trade,
so that a Tongan may go and sell things in America, just
as an American may come and sell things in Tonga. And
we have a treaty with Britain, but *that* is a very different
thing: Tonga and Britain are like two cocks, each standing
on his own dunghill, trying to raise his head above
the other and crow him down!"

645 The *fono* at Nukualofa was held at sunrise, and I was
621 awakened by an excited policeman who came to say that
208 chiefs and people were assembled and waiting for me.
203 Launched hungry, sleepy, and uncomfortable upon an
audience tired of waiting, I did not make a brilliant
speech.

By holding these *fonos* we had now done all that lay in
our power to hasten the payment of taxes pending the
651 arrival of the king from Vavau. We were in great straits
652 for want of money, for we had undertaken to pay the
salaries regularly from the day on which we assumed
office, and hitherto not a penny of poll-tax had been taken
[439] at the windows. The Government was being carried on
with the Customs dues alone, which, regular though they
were, did not suffice to meet the current demands upon
645 the Treasury, exclusive of salaries. But we could do no
more, and it was high time to agree upon the line of
policy to be pursued to promote unanimity among our-

643 father, did not read well. The Speech consisted of the
646 usual Ministerial platitudes, congratulations upon "our
cordial relations with the other Powers," and promises for
the future. The allusion to the past was very brief. He,
the king, gave thanks to God that these clouds were hap-
pily dispersed, and left it to the Legislature to provide for
the future by revising all the laws and regulating finance.
[177] Convinced that their efforts in pursuit of civilisation
[829] would not be crowned with complete success until they
[875] mastered another language besides their own, and that
[759] national prosperity could not be assured unless the popu-
lation ceased to decrease, he had provided them with a
schoolmaster for their minds and a doctor for their bodies.
In conclusion, he commended them to God, and trusted
that there would be no more dissension between the
Churches—the expectation which, in the present temper
of the missionaries, is, of all those contained in the Royal
Speech, the least likely to be realised. The king inter-
rupted the Speech twice, telling the reader impatiently
to speak up.

It had been intended to unveil a picture of the king,
but almost before Taufaahau had articulated the closing
words, his Majesty rose and strode out as he had come,
with the air of a man who has loyally discharged an irk-
[533] some duty. The band dash recklessly into the triumphal
march from Tannhäuser, struggle awhile, and arrive breath-
less at the end within a bar or two of one another.

646 The senators streamed away to their quarters at Pangai
574 to disrobe; the guests strolled home to doff their finery.
The morning had been devoted to propriety; pleasure was
now to have its turn. In half an hour not a black coat

also called, the son of Mulikihaamea, who was temporal 175
sovereign before Mumui. He had married Kananga, a 797
granddaughter of Mumui, who had just borne him a son, 634
Tungi,[1] who was through his grandfather, Mulikihaamea,
the representative of the Tui Haatakalaua. Fortunately
for Lawry's influence, in November 1823 a young chief
named Futakava, who had been taken to New Zealand
and Sydney by a passing vessel, returned to Tonga.
They had treated Lawry's accounts of the wonders of [609]
foreign countries with scepticism, but they did not think [824]
of doubting the evidence of one of their own countrymen,
even when, after the manner of travellers, he indulged in
exaggeration. But before Lawry could expect to reap
the fruit of his labours he left the islands. His stay
of fourteen months served, however, to pave the way
for his successor.

In 1826 two Tahitian teachers landed at Nukualofa 175
and began to hold services; and two months later a 797
Mr Thomas, despatched by the Methodist Society in [634]
England, landed at Hihifo, and put himself under the
protection of the chief Ata. For some months he had
to contend against opposition, but in 1827 the spirit
of curiosity was so far awakened in the natives as to
make it safe for him to hold services in Nukualofa. At 175
the close of the previous year Tubou, a half-brother of 643
the murdered Tukuaho, was elected Tui Kanokubolu,
and formally installed. It has been said that he was
elected as a bribe to wean him from his leanings towards
the new faith; but a comparison of the dates of his
appointment and Mr Thomas's arrival makes it more

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[1] Speaker of the Assembly, and Tukuaho's father.

853 milk, and could only give the children taro, yam, or fish
as the first food after weaning. The change in this system
of family separation is the cause most commonly quoted
by the natives for the high mortality among children.

181 I have said that the Tongans are sticklers for propriety
in appearances. In some respects, however, they share
with the other Polynesian peoples a gross lack of delicacy.
585 Ancient custom still constrains the elderly female relations
of the bridegroom to go home with the married pair and
stay with them until they are in a position to prove to the
other relations that the marriage is satisfactory, and that
the dower is therefore due.

All the weaknesses of pride of race that we laugh at in
186 ourselves, and feel none the less keenly, may be studied
186 among these other islanders of the antipodes. There is a
167 Tongan colony in Fiji, the children of the army of occu-
829 pation taken over by Maafu in 1848. The real Tongans
patronise their colonials, and speak of them behind their
backs as barbarians, ignorant of the usages of polite society.
The colonists affect to ridicule the Tongan aristocracy as
effete and effeminate, and envy them in secret, bestowing
on them the involuntary flattery of imitation. A Tongan
colonist who has been to Nukualofa and conversed with
the great of the earth returns home to be a nuisance to
his fellows, who try to disguise their feeling of inferiority
by disparagement of the intercourse which they so much
envy. Thus, as between the English and the Australians,
a gulf is gradually being fixed between the Tongans of
186 Tonga and Fiji. Not less instructive is the feeling
829 between the Tongans and the Fijians. While affecting
648 to despise the Fijians for their want of refinement, the

Tongan chief, stripped of his wealth and influence by his 186
new-fangled communism, secretly envies the authority 829
which his Fijian neighbour has been too wise to sur- 648
render: the Fijian chief, though full of contempt for the
leaning towards foreign customs that has reduced the
Tongan chief to poverty, tries hard to imitate his air of
superior refinement. The Tongan chief likes nothing
better than to be entertained by a great chief in Fiji, and
feel again vicariously the glories of his lost estate, and eat
taro, and hear the murmur of running water, both luxuries
unknown in his own dry country. The Fijian loves to
have such guests, and show them off to his neighbours as
proof of the wide range of his influence. So each reflects
glory on the other. They are ridiculously shy of one
another. While Tukuaho was paying a visit to me in 186
Auckland, Ratu Lala, the Tui Thakau, came from Fiji 829
to make a tour through the Australian colonies. The 648
two chiefs, on the ground of their relationship through 123
a common ancestress, were very anxious to meet, and
they both besought me to bring about the introduction.
Tukuaho spoke excellent Fijian, and Ratu Lala is no [191]
less fluent in Tongan, but to my astonishment I found
that I was expected to act as interpreter between them.
Their conversation was complimentary and formal.
Tukuaho reminded his Fijian relative of the romantic
legend that connected their families. Ratu Lala pressed
him to make the bond closer by paying him a visit.
They were both so painfully shy that even this stilted
conversation would have been impossible unless I had
stayed to interpret their languages to each other.

I have spoken already of the music and poetry of the 533
538

648 been worn on great occasions by chiefs anointed
643 with that precious essence. It is now, I believe,
431 among the curiosities in the royal collection at
175 Windsor Castle. He then told me some native
177 traditions of Cook's visit. When the vessels
829 were seen approaching Hihifo in 1773 there was
a heated discussion among the Tongans as to
whence they came. The king mimicked the
querulous intonation of the old Tongans very
funnily. "Whence come they?" said one.
"Seuke!" exclaimed the old chief, Eikinaba, a
noted wit in his day, "why, from the land of
riches—from Babalangi!" (or, as we might say,
from Brobdignag), and the nickname Babalangi
has stuck to Europeans ever since. *Ba-ki-langi*
("shooting up to heaven") is the derivation which
Fatafehi favours, meaning that the ships' masts
reached to the sky. When the Tongans boarded
the *Resolution*, the same chief, Eikinaba, noticed
a strange yam on the deck and picked it up.
"I *give* you that," said Tute (Cook), and from
that day this kind of yam was called the *Kivi*.
[241] Favoured perhaps by the cooler climate and the
new soil, this yam has grown to colossal dimensions.
Cook had probably brought it from
Rarotonga, or from Tahiti.

563 Of the number of curious petitions to which I

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

crossed the compound he remarked in a loud 521
voice for the benefit of the sentry, "Yes, all 203
that remains of the sacred tree has been inlaid 648
in the state chair like your coronation stone in England. Come and see." Sitting on the two thrones on the daïs we were at last secure from eaves-droppers, and could talk freely. He told 648
me that there were two Tongan words that 829
expressed the feeling of his country towards England—*falala* and *faha'a.* Rising and leaning against one of the pillars of the aisle, he said, "This is *faha'a*: then I spring away from it so, and cry, 'Oh! but it won't bear my weight!' and you say, 'Don't be afraid; *falala be ki ai*' ('Lean upon it without fear')" As his mighty bulk thrust against the wooden post, it cracked ominously. It was fortunate that the king is not superstitious, for the post represented England in his metaphor.

The European merchants had a well-founded 563
grievance in their complaints against the premier, 645
my old colleague Sateki. It was not that he was 661
obstinate, or that he was ignorant, though I was assured that the most stubborn Carolina mule might resent being mentioned in the same breath with the Prime Minister; it was that he was no longer incorruptible. There were slanderous

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

563 stories of cases of merchandise delivered at his
645 door that had never been paid for over the counter,
661 but, putting these aside, there was the fact that a
certain Semitic firm, not long established in the
group, had the ear of the Cabinet, imported most
of the stores required by the government, and
could oblige its friends and harass its enemies
with an ease that would have been impossible if
643 the Cabinet had been impartial. When I brought
645 these matters to the notice of the king he said,
829 "Without doubt Sateki is very unpopular; you
see, he is like Mr. Joseph Chamberlain." Perhaps my face betrayed surprise, for he hastened to add, "Of course, I do not mean that he is as able as Mr. Chamberlain, or as eloquent; what I mean is that, like Mr. Chamberlain, Sateki says just what is in his mind without thinking, and seldom opens his lips to speak without hurting somebody's feelings." Perhaps I should add that His Majesty's only English journal is the *Review of Reviews*.

After his warlike exploits Kau-ulu-fonua made certain arrangements, destined to lead ultimately to the downfall of his house. 173 643 He appointed kings in the various parts of the present Tongan group and in Uvea. Especially important was his installation of his brother, Mounga-motua, as Tui Haa-Takalaua, King of the Takalaua Tribe; and the delegation to him apparently of a good deal of his own executive power. Other appointments and ordinances are credited to Kau-ulu-fonua, including regulations regarding the royal food and kava. From the orgination of the Tui Haa-takalaua is dated the gradual decline of the Tui Tonga before the power of the Tui Kano-kupolu, itself a creation of the Tui Haa-Takalaua, and the ultimate abolition of this ancient title. These are not the only instances of the creation of titles of this form, but they are distinguished from others by the power and prestige they acquired.

As a dwelling for the Tui Haa-Takalaua was allotted Fonua-motu, on the sea front adjacent to the Tui Tonga's residence; where either then or later reclamation work was effected, to which a short length of stone drain is witness.[17] 173 643 829 A stone pier or mole was constructed running out to sea. [644] The Tui Tonga and his people were *Kau hala uta,* "land side of the road"; whilst the *Tui Haa-Takalaua,* and later the Tui Kano-kupolu, were *Kau hala lalo,* "lower (or sea) side of the road." The dividing road probably occupied much the same site as the main road running through the village of Mua to-day.[18]

LOAU.

The revision and completion of Kau-ulu-fonua's ordinances is attributed to the shadowy Loau, who came none knows whence, but who lived in Haamea, near the site of the present Wesleyan College at Nafualu. 173 643 When his work was finished he sailed away through the sky.

A brave old saga describes Loau's last voyage:— [539]

> They built them a boat in Haamea.
> In a place that was far from the ocean.
> Loau bade them freight her, and sail her,
> In the pool that was hard by his dwelling;

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[17] Mr. McKern, of the Bayard Dominick Expedition, called my attention to this.

[18] For a similar division in Samoa see A. Krämer op. cit. Vol. I., p. 229.

Native grown tobacco is smoked in Tonga rolled in 276
pieces of dried banana leaf. These cigarettes seem to be
relished more than imported ready-made cigarettes. Tongan 276
school children are thoroughly grounded in the fact 829
that smoking is an American-Indian invention. Its transmission
to Tonga and the rest of the world they associate
with the name of Christopher Columbus.

Not every foreign trait in modern Tongan culture has 177
been absorbed with as little harm as tobacco. Cricket is 177
one in point. With such fervor was cricket playing undertaken
that it became necessary some decades ago to pass 526
laws restricting the playing of the game to certain days of
the week.

Horse racing, too, is a favourite pastime and even some 541
remote islands now have race courses.

The dynamiting of fish became so prevalent some years 226
ago that it was necessary to prohibit the use of the explosive 178
for this purpose. Fishing has fallen somewhat into abeyance [439]
in certain localities and it is not uncommon for Tongans to
buy fish from enterprising Japanese and Caucasian fishermen.
177

The introduction of cloth has given rise to two new 296
feminine occupations; sewing, often with a machine; and [462]
washing. Tapa, the native substitute for cloth, is unwashable.
Clothes washing was given a further impulse by the 291
enactment of a law compelling all individuals to wear shirts [656]
in public. The lower garment is still the vala or rectangular
cloth worn as a skirt. To-day it is of textile material. Shoes
are not worn except by the well-to-do.

The police costume is of interest; barefeet, white vala, 625
blue or white coat, and broad-brimmed felt hat. 292

Speaking of the vala or rectangular cloth wound about 291
the waist as a skirt, it should be noted that the proper
length for a gentleman is half-way between the knee and
ankle. Shorter valas are worn by cooks. In Samoa valas
are worn short. I once heard a Tongan chief remark derisively 186
of the Samoans that "they wear their valas like
cooks." I have also heard the Samoans spoken of as barbarians [514]
because they have no water closets, which in Tonga [656]
are required by law.

Tongans eat with their fingers seated cross-legged on 264
mats with the food before them on other mats. Europeans

23: Collocott M-4,5 (no date) 1925 OU9 Tonga OU9

A.

192 [193] ← ***'A***, preposition or case particle used before common and proper nouns and pronouns, indicating the commonest of all relations with verbs, viz., those of subject and object. Should both object and subject be expressed *'a* is used before the object and *'e* before the subject or agent. Before common nouns *'a* coalesces with the article *e*.

A'ulo-loto, man who rows amidships. Seems to have been practically a technical term as applied to the middle man in the crew of the *tafa'aga*.

Aasi, look, search.

Ai, who (Niua Fo'ou). *Ko ai?* Who?

[193] ← ***'Ai***, sometimes placed between subject pronoun and verb, emphasising the verb. *Te ke 'ai 'alu koe?* Are you *going?*

Aituo, meaning uncertain, possibly a joyful shout, especially in connection with a wedding. There is a Tongan text which uses the word of a chief absconding secretly with a girl.

Aivalu, meaning uncertain, possibly eight-fold.

Ao, (i) face, smooth side, of mats; (ii) forked stick to catch fish; (iii) circular rib in basket; (iv) useful (cf. *aoga)*.

'Ao, thy.

Aofaga, fold of turban.

Aofaga-tuku, final thing, completion.

Aofi }
Aofi-vala } chief's *taovala* (cincture worn as sign of respect).

Aofaki, include; name certain individuals and be understood to include others whom the named individuals represent.

● [829] → ***'Au***, cut off, lop (cf. *'au'ulu*, *'auhani*, prune, *'au'uno*, scale fish).

Aua, don't (Niua Fo'ou).

'Aua, ***A'aua***, talk about, talked about. Same root appears in *A'au*, *Fakaa'au*, *Fakaa'aua*. *Hoto hiki 'aua*, or *a'aua*, my being bandied about in conversation.

Aue, an exclamation. Alas, oh dear.

Auu, to remain for a long time in water; to be completely immersed.

'Au'ulu, to cut the leaves from a tree; also applied adjectivally to a tree with the leaves cut off, especially a cocoanut.

'Aufoe, }
'Au'aufoe } shedding dead, decayed, parts; used either as verb or noun. It is applied, for example, to the falling of leaves from a dead tree.

'Aufua, a word used in the game of *lafo*, to throw a piece which does not strike against other pieces.

'Aulala, to take off outer hard bark of bamboo to serve as a knife.

Aumai, bring here (Niua Fo'ou).

Aumama, chewed (applied to *kava* prepared in the old way by grinding with the teeth).

A'umanoa, gone to the full length of the cord *(manoa)*; gone away, gone as far as possible. *Manoa* is the cord by which the decoy pigeon was tied. There are frequent figurative uses of expressions such as this. Expressions relating to the pigeon, *lube*, are often used of women.

Auta, meaning uncertain. Suggested by some that perhaps the word means tattooers, in which case it would be the Samoan form of a word whose Tongan form would be *kau-ta*. The best tattooers are said by the Tongans to come from Samoa.

Autafa, edge (cf. *tafa'aki)*. Used in one text of the edge of the sea; *Beu 'alu 'a Havea he autafa*, And Havea went along the edge.

276 When one has drunk his *kava* in the Tu'i Kanokupolu's *kava*-ring
574 he puts his cup down in front of him, whence it is taken
576 and returned to the bowl to be refilled by the cup-bearers.

643 Ve'ehala, Ma'afu, Ata, and Vaha'i do not drink the cup
276 brought to them, but hand their cups to their *matapule*,
574 and when the *matapule's* cups are brought they hand these
565 624 in their turn to their chiefs. The reason of this exchange
554 is said to be to make sure that the *matapule* get *kava;* the chiefs know that they will not be left long without a cup.

There is a poem relating to the displeasure of the Tu'i
276 Kanokupolu Mumui, because a *matapule* intercepted a root
574 576 of *kava* that was being taken to the king. The *matapule*
554 maintained that, as the king's *matapule*, he was justified
565 624 in taking the *kava* for himself. A *matapule* is entitled to the
643 deference due to his chief. If the king's *matapule* is present
644 at a *kava* ceremony when the king himself is absent the ceremony will be carried through as though the king were there, the *matapule* taking the king's place.

276 In the *kava*-ring chiefs are called by their own names
574 to receive their cups, but in distributions of food and other
576 gifts chiefs' names are never called, but their *matapule*
565 624 are called as recipients of the gifts.

[551] If a chief and his *matapule* are alone, and desire to drink *kava*, the chief prepares and serves the drink. A chief would climb a tree to get a coconut for his *matapule* to drink. These are strictly private concerns when the chief and *matapule* are alone, and are called *faka-fale-puipui*, within the screened house.

Everybody receives his *kava* with two hands, and drinks holding the cup between his two hands. When a chief hands his cup to his *matapule* he passes it to him with one hand, but the *matapule* receives it with both hands. (Is there any connection between this and the two-handled beaker of some other cultures?)

624 Several *matapule* are said to be Samoans. Lauaki
829 came to the Tu'i Kanokupolu from the Tu'i Tonga, and
644 is said to be a descendant of Maliepo, one of the heavenly half-brothers of the first Tu'i Tonga, Ahoeitu, son of Eitumatupua, lord of heaven, and a mortal woman. Because Maliepo and his brothers in the sky murdered Ahoeitu, who was brought again to life, they had to serve him in one capacity or another when he became Tu'i Tonga. (See *Folk-lore*, Vol. 35, No. 3, p. 282.)

Kamoto, an important *matapule*, is the head of Fale 624
Hakili, House of Hakili, said to be a Samoan house. He 613
was brought to Hihifo when Ngata, the eponymous ances- 829
tor of the Ha'a Ngata, son of the Tu'i Ha'a-takalaua and
a Samoan woman, was born.

Uhi was brought to Ata.

The Tu'i Kanokupolu has *matapule* in other parts 643
besides Tongatabu; Kofe and Afeaki in Ha'apai, Fotu and 644
Afu in Vava'u, Masila and Kaufana in Niua Fo'ou, Sika
and Haufano in Niua Toputapu, Elili and Malala in Uvea
(Wallis Island).

DIFFERENT SORTS OF KAVA.

Different sizes of complete *kava* plants or portions of 276
it, are brought and presented in different ways, and have 574
distinguishing names. 576
482

1st. *Kava fua taha, kava* borne on the shoulder of one man. This is put down directly in front of the king, root toward him.

2nd. *Kava tofitofi,* divided *kava,* properly in bundles of ten. Several men bring this on their shoulders, and it is placed to the left of 1, roots toward the king.

3rd. *Kava no'o,* bound *kava,* small pieces tied in bundles of ten. Placed to the left of 2.

4th. *Kava ha'amo, kava* borne on a pole. A large root slung on a pole between two bearers, and placed to the right of 1.

5th. *Kava hula, kava* borne on two poles. This is still larger, and is slung on two poles carried by four bearers. It is placed to the right of 4.

6th. *Kava toho,* dragged *kava,* brought on a sledge of *fa,* pandanus wood, and placed to the right of 5. This seems to be placed upright on the sledge.

7th. *Kava fakatefisi, kava* in the *Tefisi* manner. This is the largest of all, and is brought lying on a sledge of *fa,* root forward, and the front of the root covered by plaited coconut leaf, called *fakatefisi.* (The same word is applied to a similar plait of coconut leaves in house-building. *Tefisi,* cf. Tahiti, Fiti, etc., is a place name in Tonga.)

All *kava* plants are placed before the king with the 276
roots foremost. The specially elaborate movements of hands 643
and arms in straining the *kava* belong properly to occasions
when either of the two largest sorts of *kava* plant, or root,

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE SUPERNATURAL IN TONGA

By E. E. V. COLLOCOTT

IT is no longer possible to observe at first-hand the ritual of 121
Tongan worship. Even the names of the gods are well nigh [771]
forgotten. All that will be attempted here is to bring together a few of the conceptions of the old Tongan when he came to have dealings with the invisible world, adding little, probably nothing, to the general sum of information respecting Polynesian beliefs, but merely supplying a few points for comparison from a region which has not been so fully described as some others.

TABU

GENERAL REMARKS

The main island in the Tongan Group is marked on the maps as 103
Tongatabu, though locally it is most often called simply Tonga: Very
frequently, however, it is called Tongatabu, sometimes Tonga Lahi
(Great Tonga), or Tonga Eiki (Chiefly Tonga). It probably owes 784
its appellation of "tabu" to the fact that it is the residence of the 565
great chiefs, those who in the beginning descended from heaven, the [103]
offspring of a mortal woman and a god. These chiefs are the fount [829]
and source of chiefly influence and prestige, the head of the sacred
polity of the group in its practical working. Natives say that the
people of the northern groups of Haapai and Vavau would remark
on the incessant tabus imposed on them when they visited Tonga on
account of the proximity of the high chiefs. That can have happened, however, only in the immediate entourage of these great lords.

The idea of tabu itself is twofold, or has a twofold aspect, indi- 784
cating firstly sacredness, that which is *nefas*, frequently equivalent to 778
the holiness by which our English Bibles render the Hebrew *qadosh*,
the mysterious perilousness and unapproachableness which surrounds
mystic power. Besides this uncanny essence of the occult tabu em-

boil and ulcer sort; that further there are different individuals who 754
specialize in the cure of different diseases. Should a man desire, for 755
example, to put a tabu on his plantation, he will go to a person who 241
has the reputation of being able to cure some sort of hangatamaki with the request that this medicine man (or woman) assist him with his art. The practitioner then makes up little bundles of medicine and hangs them about the premises it is desired to protect. Should anyone, even the owner, dare to break the tabu and touch anything on the property he will be afflicted with the special hangatamaki in which the medicine man consulted specializes, who again is alone able to cure these punitive visitations, which he will be quite ready to do—for a consideration. When it is desired to remove the tabu the owner and the medical practitioner together go and take down the packages. The practice of putting a plantation under the protection of a shark god has already been mentioned.

In 1917 a man died in Tonga as the result of the black art as 754
practised on him by a man of Fiji. In this case the witchcraft was 829
described by the term fakalouakau, that is "by a leaf," or "making a leaf." It seems that a year or two previously the unfortunate victim had been on a visit to Fiji, and had been put under the spell of fakalouakau by a native of that country. Report hath it that contemporaneously with the death of the Tongan the maleficent Fijian also met his own end. One method of practising fakalouakau is to get something which has been in close contact with the person on whom it is desired to operate, e.g., nail-parings, and wrap it up and bury it. As the buried object rots a sympathetic disease will appear [753]
in the victim. One man in discussing these matters drew his examples entirely from Fiji. He said that in Fiji a man would take a piece of young leaf shoot and chew it, muttering the while the name of the person he wished to injure. It is dangerous for anyone to come in contact with such a fragment of leaf after it has been spat out; and the basket in which the Tongan medicine to cause the hangatamaki is kept is likewise a source of peril. This man added the further information regarding the black art amongst his neighbors of the Fiji group that there one may cause foot trouble in an enemy by stabbing his foot-prints. A Fijian after drinking a coconut should

split it open before throwing it away. An unsplit nut which had 754 been drunk would be a great find for the medicine man who could use 829 it to work spells on the drinker; but by opening it up one allows the emanation from himself which entered at drinking to escape. One is inclined to suppose that amongst the Tongans the Fijians enjoyed a sinister reputation for preëminence in the black art.

POSSESSION

An interesting comparison with Tongan belief is furnished by a 000 letter from the Rev. S. W. Brooks to the *Methodist Magazine* (1867, [113] Pt. I, p. 462) written from Bue, Fiji, in August, 1865:

> Among the company there was one Abraham, a strange-looking man, perhaps fifty years old. He was covered with remarkable excrescences, varying in size from a pea to a fowl's egg. On questioning the simple-minded chief as to the cause of this, and the age of the man, I made out these two remarkable things: 1. That the devil was the cause, and it was because his father had given his mother a hatchet before the child's birth; 2. That he was a thousand years old.

The devil gets rather more than his due among primitive men.

The belief in demonic possession still obtains more or less amongst 787 the Tongans. A form of hysteria is in particular associated with a [158] diabolic visit. There is a credit, however, to be entered against all that is charged against the mischievous pranks of these other-worldly visitors. A man, partly of Tongan and partly of Fijian blood, re- 000 lates that in Fiji there are those who are possessed by various gods, and whose supernatural power thus acquired is used for benevolent ends. They form a detective corps d'élite, of infallible efficacy in the tracing of stolen goods. Nor is their medical practice less availing. The fact that they sometimes console the patient with the assurance that he will die should be reckoned an indication of honesty rather than a confession of impotency. Their practice is clairvoyant diagnosis rather than magical healing, as they give practical assistance to the sick, sometimes by prescriptions of their own and sometimes by recommendations as to where they may obtain treatment. The narrator added that these possessed men and women were amongst the most zealous Christians, and noted for the exemplary goodness of their lives.

101 **TONGANS.—1. Introduction.—Tonga—**or at
least the Tonga of this article—is the name of a
group of islands in the Western Pacific, lying to
the north of New Zealand, the east of New Caledonia,
and the south of Fiji and Samoa. It is
sometimes known as the Friendly Isles, the
name given it by Captain Cook. The Tongans
who inhabit this group are a tiny nation of the
Polynesian race. Although few in number—about
20,000 only—their nationality is clearly marked,
and they can easily be distinguished from their
144 neighbours the Fijians and Samoans. Typical
Tongans are tall, large-limbed, of a light coffee
142 colour, with upright forehead and straight hair;
but a little acquaintance with them shows that
there has been an admixture with a race that
was short and had receding foreheads. This agrees
174 with their traditions, which state that, when the
Tongans came to the group, some five or six
centuries ago, it was already occupied by an aboriginal
race. Traces of these have been found in
one of the volcanic islands, but the vestiges have
not been scientifically examined. Still it is clear
that the Tongans, and Polynesians generally, have
emigrated from a distance; and the most probable
theory is that of Fornander, that they came from
the head of the Persian Gulf.

Old navigators used to speak of the Tongans as
'the most splendid savages in existence,' and they
were certainly the terror of the neighbouring
groups, all of which are said to have been once
829 conquered by them. They acknowledge them-
selves to be mentally inferior to the European;
153 but it cannot be said that they come very far be-
hind; and occasionally students at Tubou College
have achieved results that could be equalled only
192 by the best pupils in English schools. A fair
measure of the size of their brains may surely be
found in their language, which contains, it is
estimated, at least 10,000 words in use. The verbs
192 have about 20 voices, and the pronouns are de-
193 veloped to such an amazing extent that there are
more than 100 ways of saying 'our,' against two
in English, 'our' and 'our own.' As the adjectives,
too, have many degrees of comparison, and
there are more than two articles, shades of meaning
can be produced to an almost infinite extent.
000 That the Bible translates well into a language like
this is not surprising; but geometrical treatises,
and such works as Milton's *Paradise Lost*, can also
be well rendered.

771 Physically, then, and mentally, the Tongans
stand high; and it comes as a surprise that their

42: Walsh K-4,5 (no date) 1970 OU9 Tonga OU9

433 2. Growers suffer from a lack of incentives. One example of this
245 is the low price they are paid—45 percent of that obtained by
[435] the Copra Board.

[434] 3. A feeling of malaise and neglect by government in the outer islands.
[829] They have received directly only about 10 percent of development moneys, yet government needs to be *seen to be active* in this and other ways.

[829] 4. A fatalism which assumes that God and Government will eventu-
[181] ally provide, which obviates the need for individual action.

[829] 5. The panacea of tourism, the discovery of oil and other ventures that are expected to produce Kuwait-type returns. This obviates the need to turn seriously to agriculture.

181 In a society where initiative belongs to the chiefs, government is
622 the only significant innovator. As most of the reasons for low production
565 seems to be cultural in origin, cultural solutions are most likely to solve
659 them. This, initially, means a reappraisal of priorities and a reallocation
006 of funds; a close examination of present methods of land use and land tenure; a revised education system which places less stress on academic learning; and the use of radio and other media to 'play-down' the attractions of Nuku'alofa and Tongatapu, for these are often highly exaggerated in the minds of the islands' population. Only direct government intervention can reduce migration to a rate where it more closely approximates economic development.[34] And as all of Tonga is a 'backward area' in relation to the countries with which it has economic connections, direct government intervention from these countries is also necessary to stimulate and maintain development. This, basically, requires better trade and shipping conditions and a higher rate of investment, not an increase in aid which in itself is unlikely to stimulate growth.

CONCLUSION

161 In summary, population movement is not new in Tonga. While some
162 older patterns, such as dispersed settlement, the full occupance of the
361 smaller islands adjacent to Tongatapu and 'Uta Vava'u, and the siting
166 of settlements in areas where there is a balance of land and sea resources, appear to have gone or been severely modified, other trends suggest the re-establishment of older patterns—the resettlement of some of the volcanic islands, possibly a more widespread use of the interior of islands, and the pre-eminence of Tongatapu and its capital, Nuku'alofa, which in a limited political sense could be considered the modern counterpart of ancient Mu'a with all its attendant powers of central authority. Other patterns continue—population moves among

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[34] Cf. Myrdal (1966): Chapters 3, 4.

options available to ordinary Tongans include the 181
possibility of switching denominational affiliation, 571
changing household membership, shifting kin-group
affiliation, moving to a different village, and varying
the extent of participation in various local activities.
With regard to all these elements, Tongans perceive their [829]
society as one in which there are few prescriptions or
prohibitions, where people have alternatives in ordering
their lives, and where individuals have considerable
autonomy in exercising their options. My analysis of 121
these materials is concerned in part with identifying
some of the circumstances that lead a person to select
one alternative rather than another.

Previous Anthropological Research in Tonga 114

Despite the many anthropologists who have worked in the Tonga Islands, none has published more than a few paragraphs dealing with local organization. One cannot be sure whether the absence of a satisfactory account of local organization in Tonga is not merely because no-one has attempted to provide it. Nevertheless, the absence of such an account is curious in view of the number of anthropologists who have worked in Tonga.

The first and most eminent of these anthropologists is A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, who spent a few years in Tonga

cracy is understandable. However, accounts of Tongan 114
society at the national level have tended to treat the 565
non-elite simply as followers. This is manifest in most
accounts of the traditional system of stratification, and
is also evident in the following statement by Spillius
about the contemporary political system:

> Since Tonga has a centralized form of government, I considered it essential to study the structure of Government and the system of rank first, especially in view of the fact that in the fields of authority and rank, the rest of the population orients itself to the activities of Government officials and persons of high rank (1959b: 3).

Given that the national level is not the local level writ
large, a study of the national level does not necessarily
call for enquiry into the lives of ordinary Tongans.
However, dismissal of the non-elite is at least partly due 114
also to the fact that the folk history of Tonga is couched 173 565
mainly in terms of the political and genealogical
connections among the chiefs (Collocott 1924, Lātūkefu
1968, Marcus 1975b, Wood 1932). Since it is the people of 114
the chiefly class who have the best knowledge of these 173
matters, their view of the non-elite as followers and of 565 829
little account is transmitted as part of the oral tradition.
The predominantly aristocratic perspective in oral tradition
may account for the fact that many foreigners, including
anthropologists, seem to have fallen into an attitude that
echoes the thinking of some of the Tongan elites; namely,

114 173 565 829 that the aristocracy is the repository of that which is truly Tongan. I have characterized this attitude elsewhere (1974, 1976) as 'the noble view of Tongan society'. The attitude is implicit throughout Gifford's Tongan Society (1929), but it is also reflected in the work of Spillius, Bott, Kaeppler, and Urbanowicz, anthropologists who have conducted fieldwork much more recently than Gifford. The attitude is explicit in the following statement by Spillius:

> The common error made in earlier anthropological studies of Tonga has been for the anthropologist to go out to outlying villages and islands too soon, under the impression that the more remote the village, the more chance the anthropologist would have to meet the "real people", and the more traditional customs he would find. Such romantic notions can be very misleading in a society like Tonga. In Tonga, knowledge of customs and understanding of the social and political structure has always been the prerogative and the duty of the men and women of rank. Traditionally, commoners were not supposed to know about genealogies or the reasons for political decisions, and to a considerable extent this holds good today (1959b: 3).

114 565 This attitude carries an important implication for anthropologists and for Tongans, an implication that should not go unchallenged. The implication is that there is little of ethnological interest to be learned from ordinary Tongans, and that the political activities and genealogical manipulations of the vast majority of Tongans are somehow not "really Tongan". And even if it were argued that this implication is not conveyed, the fact remains that little has been written about the lives and concerns of Tongan villagers.

621 571 general, local authority is concerned with different matters from those that are the concern of supra-local entities and subject to authority at the national level.[8] Indeed, the obverse of local groups' being unrecognized and without authority beyond the local community is that they tend to be autonomous or subject to very little intervention in the conduct of local affairs. Some of the implications of this system of organization are considered in this and in the final chapter.

The centralization of formal authority in Tonga must be understood in relation to the fact that Tongan villages 623 are not self-governing entities. There is no village-wide assembly comparable to what is found in Samoa, for example, where there is a council consisting of leaders from each of

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[8] Spillius points to the significance of this distinction in relation to the planning of development projects, and emphasizes that it is a matter of the structure and organization of political authority:

> There is one set of attitudes that will prove an obstacle to the development of a water-supply system, but only if W.H.O. or Government should insist that the initiative in constructing and maintaining a water-supply system should be taken by the villagers (1960: 16).
>
> [829] [642] I should like to make it quite clear that villagers do not duck every kind of responsibility. It is only those things that they think are the province of the central Government that they are unwilling to perform. . . . In political matters and in public works, it is the central Government that is supposed to take action. In other fields the villagers manage their own affairs (1959b: 2-3).

From the data on Motulahi, it appears that Spillius's warning regarding the water-supply system was accurate.

623 The noble's brief statement was followed by an even shorter
565 speech by the Town Officer, who added some practical
622 details to what the noble had said. In all, eighteen
minutes elapsed from the time that the noble entered the
shed where the fono took place until the time that he
dismissed the people with the words "Sai, tuku ā (all
right, that's all)".

571 As the institution of the fono indicates, the organization
829 of authority in Tonga and the associated ideology
are such that those at high levels of authority are not
thought to be, nor are they in practice, accountable or
[623] subject to the wishes of those beneath them. This means
that formal communication between the central authorities
and ordinary people in the villages need only be a one-way
process--there is no discussion at the fono nor any
legitimate questioning of the directives given.

642
571 The fono is merely one of a number of formal procedures
[623] for communicating from the top down. The Government
[646] gives people directives through District and Town
[634] Officers and through the fono, makes announcements over
[207] the radio and in the Tonga Chronicle (the national newspaper,
[204] published weekly in Tongan and English editions),
and gives official notice in the Government Gazette.
794 Similarly, the churches publish various bulletins and forward
795
571 other directives to members through notices to the

121 feature characteristic of these societies is the optative and changeable nature of the composition of household groups.

Fluctuating patterns of household composition have received less attention than other features that are characteristic of Oceanic societies. Usually they are discussed within the context of studies of land-holding groups, and they have generally been treated either as a secondary aspect of ecological adaptation or as a by-product of the flexibility of social organization in these societies. Studies that focus on actual settlement patterns, however, are more actor-oriented than are studies of land-holding groups. This different focus directs attention to what I take to be a lack of conceptual clarity in the use of such terms as "option" and "choice" in discussing the diverse behavior of different people in a society. This problem emerges in the final section of the paper, where I consider the meaning of the data that are presented here.

VARIATIONS IN HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE IN A TONGAN VILLAGE

101 Tonga, a country of about 150 islands, lies east of Fiji and south of
131 Samoa. (It is also known as the "Friendly Islands"—a name given by
175 Captain Cook, who visited Tonga in the course of his voyages of 1773-74
162 and 1777.[1]) About 40 of the islands are inhabited, with a total
161 population in 1970 of more than 80,000; three-fifths of the people live
131 on the main island of Tongatapu. The total land area of the country is about 256 square miles, two-fifths of which is Tongatapu.

361 Although there are only four centers of administration and com-
162 merce in which social differentiation is such that they can properly be called "towns," about one-third of the total population is clustered in these areas (two are on Tongatapu). The remaining population lives in villages that are dotted throughout the islands in a nuclear pattern of village settlement; this settlement pattern is largely the result of practices established during a period of civil war that lasted from 1797
433 until the mid-1800's. Most of the people who live in the rural areas and many of those who live in the towns are wholly or partially dependent for their livelihoods on peasant agriculture.

592 There is no consensus among Tongans on what composition
829 constitutes the ideal household, but all adults would agree that the ideal household is one in which I, the speaker, am the head. Most Tongans would probably say that a household ordinarily comprises a single family unit consisting of a married couple and their unmarried children. Not all households conform to this pattern, however. In fact,

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177 [1] Tonga was first visited by Europeans in 1616, but sustained contact with Europeans did not begin until almost the end of the 18th century. Despite considerable European intervention
777 since then, including the Christianization of the entire population before the end of the 19th
648 century, Tonga has remained formally independent. In 1970, the Kingdom of Tonga joined the British Commonwealth of Nations.

out of a total of 145 households in the village of Motulahi[2] on the island 592 of Tongatapu, there were only 47 such households (see Table 1).[3] In [594] other words, less than one-third of the households in the village were made up simply of a married couple and their unmarried children. Of [596] the remaining households, 49 consisted of more than one family unit, some including one or more attached individuals (that is, persons who were not members of one of the family groups living in the household).[4] The other households in the village were variations on the single-family-unit type, including some whose membership included attached individuals (see Table 2), and others that were incomplete family groups (see Table 3). Among the households in Motulahi were single-generation, two-generation, three-generation, and four-generation households (see Table 4). There were households based on family units [596]

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[2] "Motulahi" is a fictitious name for the village in which I was based. [114]

[3] It would have been interesting to compare my data on household structure in Motulahi [114] with similar data from other parts of Tonga. Indeed, there are figures on household structure in the *Report on the Results of the 1966 Census* (Fiefia 1968), but, unfortunately, there is reason to doubt the [594] comparability of these data. The 1966 national census figures showed that there were 118 single-family-unit households in Motulahi out of a total of 155 households (76%), while my 1970 census showed 93 single-family-unit households out of a total of 145 households (64%). My definition of a "family unit" was taken unchanged from that in the report on the national census, and the 1966 figures for Motulahi are fairly consistent with the national figures on household structure (82% single-family-unit households). Therefore, unless we assume major changes in the composition of Motulahi households between 1966 and 1970 (and there is no evidence to support this assumption), we must conclude that my data on household composition are not comparable with corresponding data in the report on the national census. The most likely explanation for the inconsistency is that, in 1966, some people represented their family units as comprising independent single-family-unit households when, in fact, they did not. One reason for this might be that the people regarded their not having independent households as a merely temporary condition and hence not a truly accurate statement of their household situation. Another reason might stem from [829] the fact that Tonga is a highly rank-conscious society, and to admit to being a dependent family [554] unit is an admission of low status.

[4] My definition of "family unit" is derived from the *Report on the Results of the 1966 Census:*

> The basic family unit consists of a man and his wife and any children they may have, and the [594] general rule to be followed is to separate out the youngest family units within the household first, leaving the Head of the household and his wife and unmarried children (and servants, boarders or visitors) as the one remaining unit. . . . If one member of the household (other than the head) is married and is living with the spouse and any children they may have in the head's house, this family group constitutes one family unit and, provided that the remaining members of the household are unmarried, such a household will consist of two family units. . . . Married persons living without a spouse but with offspring in another's house similarly represent a family unit (Fiefia 1968:32).

The census report refers to "servants, boarders and visitors" as being "remaining members of the household" who are not part of a "family group" living in the household. These people comprise my category of "attached individuals." Neither "family unit" nor "attached individual" are named Tongan categories, although both would be readily recognized by Tongans. "Family group" (*famili*) is a named Tongan category (although it is possibly not a native category). The term *famili* [594] has a number of referents, one of which is the sense of a nuclear or elementary family grouping that is expressed in the term "family group" as used in the census report. (For other referents of the term *famili*, see Aoyagi 1966; Decktor Korn 1974). Although the term "household" has no direct equivalent in Tongan, the Tongan word *'api*, meaning a plot of ground devoted to a particular use, is the word that is generally used where we would say "household." The primary meaning of *'api* is the land, but, by extension, it also refers to the commensal group that is located on the land.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 240]

In short, a man and wife will seek to establish their own household as 592 soon as they can, wherever it might be. The proof of this is that in 596 Motulahi, where there were 150 married couples, I found only two multiple-family households in which both the family unit of the head of the household and the subordinate family unit could be viable on their own. In both cases, the link between the family groups was between parents and son, and it should be noted that one of these households was headed by the village noble, and the other by the man who was next highest on the traditional scale of rank. Both were among the five [556] men who were by far the richest in the village (the three other men did not have adult children). In other words, it is possible that their fathers' special positions may account for why the sons lived in extended family households when they could have afforded to set up house on their own.

In addition, there were some multiple-family households in which one family unit in the household could be economically independent, while the other(s) would not be viable. In such cases, it is clear why the dependent family unit is a member of an extended household. As for the 554 self-sufficient family unit, the extension of the household is a matter of 592 prestige, quite aside from any question of sentiment or obligation, for 596 the larger a household (measured especially in terms of adult dependents), the greater the authority of the head. This authority applies not only within the household but also beyond it, since the head of a large household controls more labor for community enterprises than do other heads of households.

Thus, a couple will make an effort first to establish their own household. Once they have succeeded in this, they will try to attract other people to join their household (provided they are capable of supporting dependents). Against this, however, others will be seeking to establish households of their own, and this puts a limit on the ability to attract and retain dependents.

We are now in a position to understand what lies behind the 592 statement that was made earlier in this paper: that there is no consensus 829 among Tongans on what composition constitutes the ideal household. An older man may say that the ideal household is a three-generation household headed by the senior members, while a young man is unlikely to make such a statement. However, as mentioned earlier, both would agree that the ideal household is one in which I, the speaker, am in a position to be the head.

If a family unit is not able to be independent, an older couple or 592 older individual generally prefers to move in with their daughter or 596 other female relative, who is more likely to be welcoming and will take 606 better care of them than their son's wife would. Among younger couples [591] who are not able to be independent, a woman prefers to be in a

There is no indigenous category for 'family estate', and it is thus an analytical construct of the observer. On the other hand, there is indigenous cognitive justification, in the varied uses of the categories *famili* and *kāinga,* for the analyst's construction of a family estate model. The category *famili* is obviously borrowed from English; the category *kāinga* formerly referred to lineage in the Tongan ramage, but today refers to one's universe of kinsmen. Some informants used the categories *famili* and *kāinga* synonymously to refer to one's universe of kinsmen; others distinguished *famili* as one's family of procreation and/or one's family of orientation from *kāinga* as one's general category of kinsmen; still others specifically referred to *famili* as one's group of brothers and sisters and their *fānau* ('children') plus other 'prominent' kinsmen (usually mother's brothers and their children) living outside the village community and to *kāinga* as a residual category of all the rest of one's blood relations. The use of these categories is usually not consistent for any one informant, and much of the variation in use is accounted for by such factors as an individual's position in the developmental cycle of domestic groups. Nevertheless, the latter two uses of these categories reflect the fact that Tongans themselves do distinguish the existence of a discrete set of kinsmen separate from the composition of specific domestic groups in co-residence and from a general category of recognized kinsmen, the *kāinga*. 612 829

The ways in which the categories *famili* and *kāinga* are distinguished in use are also an important and subtle index of strategies that individuals employ to manage their positions in family estates. In principle, one can define himself out of obligations and into rights by altering the referents of whom he considers *famili* and whom he considers *kāinga.* The composition and content of family estates become stabilized through time, but in the process of development of a particular family estate, individuals can manipulate their positions regarding their rights and obligations to particular kinsmen. For example, individuals who attempt to maximize the support they can call upon and minimize their obligations (i.e., 'development-minded' individuals in a modern sector) will define *famili* as their family of procreation, defining other kinsmen, including true siblings, as *kāinga*, as more distant. On the other hand, siblings of these individuals, located in the village or traditional sector, who attempt a trade-off between obligations and rights, will define *famili* more broadly to include the very individuals in the modern sector who define their village kinsmen out of their *famili.* Differing perceptions of who constitutes *famili* (marking here the family estate) 612 557 829 [578]

53: Marcus E-4,5 (1972) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Ha'apai
'Uiha

612 often result in conflicts and accusations over the fulfillment of one's
557 duties (in terms of either rights or obligations) as a kinsman.

829 Objectively, there are limits to individual manipulation, since one
'who has made it' in a modern sector may not want to alienate his
[578] siblings by defining them out of the category covering effective economic transaction (the *famili* or family estate), and will thus settle on a less extreme strategy whereby he will fulfill obligations for his higher ranking kinsmen, but will also try to minimize the financially burdensome consequences of these obligations without alienating his siblings.
612 The potential and real conflicts between individual and collective interests considerably complicate any attempt to provide a neat analytical model of the family estate. It should be noted, however, that although I found evidence of such conflicts, I found in general a remarkable congruity in the operation of the family estates for which I could gather data. Perhaps the degree of support provided by kinsmen in modern sectors to kinsmen in traditional sectors seems generous and significant to recipient villagers (as in the case of the provision of materials for building a European-style house), but not too burdensome to their donor kinsmen in a modern sector within Tonga or abroad.

593 A final important index of individual strategies within family estates
554 is the treatment of sisters by brothers. In any sibling group, sisters have higher prestige status than brothers. In terms of material support, the obligations of brothers to sisters may have an important influence on the individual social and economic development of brothers, especially
[589] with regard to decisions about marriage. I noted cases of several men who never married or married quite late (after the age of 35). Explanations for this phenomenon often contained a quite explicit recognition that as a brother, one is obligated to actively support his sisters and
[581] their children indefinitely. Of course, not all brothers were quite so selfless since marriage is certainly the statistical norm in Tongan society. Some married brothers continued to actively support their sisters, married and unmarried; others responded only to requests from sisters for support; while still others claimed that their active material obligations of support to their sisters effectively ceased when their sisters married — then support, except on special occasions, became the responsibility of the husbands. The preceding discussions reveal that although channels of support are well defined by the organization of rank in the family estate, there is still much room for individual manipulation based upon the subtle ways that traditional rights and obligations can be interpreted and perceived in practice.

in other cases, it does not. Class distinctions and hierarchy are formally 621
marked in Tongan villages in interactions between village residents,
commoner or otherwise, and the actual persons holding noble-titles, 565
whether they are full-time residents of their respective villages or not. 554

Informants in 'Uiha described the remarkable change in behavior that 621
occurred after the eldest son of the previous noble succeeded to the title.
Before assuming the title, the designated heir to the title joined in village 565
activities with commoners such as recreational *fai kava* and work groups
without formal recognition of his potential status. Having assumed the [576]
title, the same individual was, and is now, treated with highly explicit
deference behavior (e.g., bowing when greeting him, using a special [195]
vocabulary still surviving in the Tongan language and used only in
conversing with nobles) by all those who formerly associated with him
in a far more equal and informal manner. In 'Uiha, there appeared to
be no striking, or even, subtle, class distinctions in observed interactions
between commoners and the siblings and *matāpules* of the present title-holder.
On the other hand, the reputation of the present government [554]
District Officer, a 'Uiha commoner with a strong and long-standing
friendship tie with the present title-holder, was greatly enhanced, although
no special deference behavior was displayed toward him.

This process of sudden and formal isolation of an incumbent title-holder, marking the formation of distinctions in the class system, reveals an important dimension of social relations in Tongan villages. The elaborate marking of rank in the class system, viewed from a societal perspective, is contrasted by the prevalence of what Turner would call 'normative communitas' (Turner, 1969, p. 132) or essentially an egalitarian ethic derived from ideas about common kinship and historical origins, shared among people living together in a traditional *fonua*. In some sense, all people living in the same community are equal because they share the same *fonua* identification, regardless of class affiliations. Although *fonua* identification is primarily a territorial concept, it is still conceived by Tongans in terms of a kinship idiom.

Informants in 'Uiha described a general kinship ideology in which all 621
residents of a particular community were considerd one *kāinga*, often
expressed as the *kāinga fakafonua* (the 'home kindred' or 'community as 602
kindred') or as a particular noble's *kāinga* (referring to his 'people' in 829
general, or to the *fonua* from which he originates). The usage of this
idiom is more than metaphorical, since informants explained to me that
if they desired, they could in fact trace their blood or affinal relationship,
no matter how distant, to any other member of the community. Practi- [612]

621 cally, however, this sort of calculation is never done, and individuals do
602 recognize effective limits to their *kāingas*, i.e., those whom they recognize
as occupying particular statuses as opposed to those who are non-kinsmen
● 829 without specific kin statuses. Now, whereas ego-focussed, recognized
612 *kāingas* are organized in terms of ranked statuses, already described,
kāinga as a general ideology (what Fortes calls 'kinship amity' transcending the specifically defined norms of any kinship system) marks the unity of a group of people through a well-defined, but generalized consciousness of common descent.[7]

621 The other component of the egalitarian dimension of *fonua* identifi-
829 cation is a common sense of historical heritage. For example, in 'Uiha,
residents, regardless of class distinctions, pride themselves on their historical association with the founder of the present ruling dynasty. Such idioms and associations, emphasizing a sense of communitas and an egalitarian ethic, have as much, if not more, effect locally on interpersonal relations in everyday life as has the predominant ideology of
621 rank and hierarchy in Tonga's traditional class system. The isolation of
565 the noble title-holder from the members of his native *fonua*, including
his recognized *kāinga*, is necessary to establish sharply the distinction between nobles and commoners at the local level in order to make the existence of the class system possible at the societal level. Thus, the crucial definition of class boundaries for the societal class structure as a whole can be observed on the village level in the behavior of the title-holder toward his *kāinga fakafonua* of wich he is a member, but toward which as title-holder he must establish a relationship of sharply defined inequality.

As noted in the second section, the modern Tongan noble has few
(694) legally defined prerogatives regarding the people living on his *tofi'a*. Any
violations of the laws by a noble can be brought to court by commoners, although I know of no such cases in 'Uiha or in other communities of Ha'apai. In fact, the noble has a good deal of authority over the people living on his *tofi'a*, usually his *kāinga fakafonua*.

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[7] The merging of a kinship and a community identification occurs in a form of social organization which Murdock called a 'deme'. Goodenough elaborated the developmental aspects of this form (Goodenough, 1970, p. 53): "Overlapping or not, however, if descent groups eventually become coterminus with the community, the community in effect takes over their functions and they cease to exist as separate entities." This is essentially what happened in Tonga, as can be seen from the second section of this paper. If this view is correct, the generalized kinship ideology in Tongan villages is a residual function of the development that Goodenough posited.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

TUESDAY 20*th*. Fenough havi[ng] expressed a desire to see the 648
Marines go through their exercize and being willing to gratify him, 648
I ordered them all ashore from both ships in the Morning of the 20th [634]
After they had gone through their exercize and fired several Volleys,
the Cheif entertained us again in his turn with a sight intirely new. 648
It was a kind of dance, performed by men and youths of the first
rank; but so much unlike any thing I know of in any other part of 541
the World, that no discription I can give will convey even a tolerable 535
Idea of it. Any number may perform it, there were in this one hundred [293]
and five, each having in his hand an Instrument shaped something
like a paddle of 2½ feet in length, with a small handle and thin
blade so that they were very light and the most of them neatly made.
With these Instruments, they made many and various flourishes each
of which was attended with a different attitude of the body and some
different movement or a nother. They at first ranged themselves in
three lines, and by different movements and motions each man
changed his station in such a manner that those who were in the
rear came in front. Nor did they remain long in the same form, but
these changes were made by pretty quick movements; they at one
time extended themselves in one line then formed into a semicircle
and lastly into two square Columns, while this last was performing,
one of them came and danced a harlequin dance before me with
which the whole ended. The musick was two drums or rather two [534]
hollow logs of wood on each of which they beat with two sticks. It
did not appear to me that the dance was much assisted or directed [533]
by this Musick, but by a Song in which every one joined as with one
voice; it was musical and harmonious and all their motions were performed
with such justness that the whole party moved and acted as
one man.[1] It was the opinion of every one of us that such a performance
whould have met with universal applause on a European
Theatre, and so far exceeded any thing we had done to amuse them
that they seemed to pique themselves in the superiority they had
over us. Not one of our musical instruments, except the drum did 534
they hold in the least esteem, and even the Drum they did not think
superiour to their own; as to the French horns they very seldom 829
would attend to them attall either here or at any of the other islands.[2]

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[1] This paddle-dance, *meè oe baggi*, says Mariner, II, p. 215 and n, 'is a Nuha [i.e. Niuatoputapu] dance, but the songs accompanying it are Hamoa [Samoa].'—*Me'e ta'upaki*: *me'e*, a dance; *ta'u*, persistently, or 'to keep going'; *paki*, a paddle.

[2] It was probably during the proceedings of this morning of 20 May that Cook's fate [634]
was in the balance, as told in Mariner's story (II, pp. 71–2), quoted above, pp. ciii–civ.
Presumably Finau and the other chiefs had already their night dance in preparation, and [648]
the argument was over whether to do the deed of assassination during the morning or the
following evening.

177 appears probable the inhabitants of Tonga think them worthy of
imitation in many respects. I have subjoind three words which seem
104 to differ much from those of the other isles.

Tama'lôâ	A chief man
Tamaë'ty	A chief woman
Solle	A common man

648 'Feejee is the only place they know that does not bend to their
authority and they are themselves oblig'd in some measure to
[201] acknowledge the superiority of Feejee, a circumstance they always
express by bending the body forwards and covering the face with
their hands. This place is compos'd of several high isles which bear
[509] about w from Hapaee and is much larger than Tonga. Its distance
may be guess'd by their time of sailing to it which with a good wind is
721 three days but with an indifferent one five or more. The inhabitants
sometimes visit Tonga and the other isles in a hostile manner and
carry off their hogs and other things, where they are much dreaded
from their fighting with Bows and Slings but more so from the unnatural practice of eating their enemies whom they kill in battle.
[266] This practice is destested very much by the people of Tonga (who
mention something of an Island to the eastward where the same
[829] custom prevails) and who cultivate the friendship of those of Feejee
apparently out of fear, though they sometimes venture to skirmish
with them on their own ground and carry off red feathers as their
Booty, which are found in great plenty there and highly valued at
648 Tonga. When they are at peace the intercourse between the islands
seems pretty frequent, though they have been doubtless but lately
177 known to each other, or we may suppose that Tonga and the other
231 isles would have before this been supplied with a breed of dogs which
abound at Feejee, and though now at Tonga were not to be seen
171 when Capt^{n} Cook was here in 1773. Contrary to the practice at
Tonga the women of this place are punctur'd but not the men. We
304 have seen several of both sexes at Tonga who are generally smaller
563 than the natives of that place, are of a deeper and more shining black
and have the hair frizzled. The Ears of some are slit and the lobe
hangs down almost to the shoulder, like the inhabitants of some other
isles in the south sea. They are much respected here, not only perhaps
as a powerfull people but from their ingenuity, as they seem even to
exceed the inhabitants of Tonga in that respect if we might judge
from several things that come from that place: as their clubs and
spears which are carv'd in a very masterly manner, their cloth which
is beautifully checquer'd, variegated matts, their earthen pots, and

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Among their Amusements has been omitted the following which 524
the Children use, the first is keeping four balls up for a long time like
some of the slight of hand gentry do in England. The other is darting 526
a Stick with an oval head a great way which they do by striking it
first against the ground, it then rebounds to a considerable distance,
this is a play very common among the young boys.

During our Stay among them they did not seem to have any quarrels 721
on their Hands either foreign or domestic, however they informed
us that a little time before our Arrival they had been at War
with the People of an Island called Fidgee which they said lay to the
WNW at the distance of five day's Sail which may be ab^t^ 200 Leagues.
By their Account this Island of Fidgee is much larger than Tongataboo, 829
& the People numerous & as they say Cannibals. However at this
[time] there were some of the Natives of that Island at Tongataboo, & 439
it is probable that the two Isles carry on a Trade in time of peace. We
saw some pieces of Cloth very curious & prettily painted which they [563]
told us came from Fidgee & that none like it was made at Tongataboo.

It is probable that the white people above described are the same
with those mentioned in the Spanish Voyages published by Dalrymple 114
& which he supposes were the Inhabitants of the Southern Continent [143]
which the Spaniards were in search of. The nonexistence of
which was proved so incontestibly by Capt^n^ Cook in his last Voyage
that it must put a stop to any further Cavils & idle suppositions from
the Editor of those Voyages.

Superiority of Birth seems to be held in high Estimation at these 565
Islands, The natives priding themselves much on being related to the
Chiefs whom they immagine to be the greatest Potentates upon
Earth, or indeed in the Skies; for in speaking of those of the highest
Rank they always told us that they were 'Agee la langee agee lalo
fonooa',[1] which signifies Kings of the Skies above & of the Earth
below, at the same time pointing with their Fingers to the Sky & the
Earth. And as the Chiefs were held in great Veneration by all Ranks, 648
Capt^n^ Cook always treated them with due Respect & was careful
that no Insult was offered to them by any of our people. Fatafee the 565
Brother of Powlohow[2] being on board the Resolution one day & 648
seeing a Girl whom it seems he knew with one of the Sailors between 644
Decks, wanted to take her away from him, but the Man having
engaged her for the Night & delivered the Payment to her friends, 123
refused to part with her and the Chief insisting upon it & going to

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[1] *'Eiki ha langi 'eiki lalo fonua.* The translation Samwell gives is correct, if one accepts 'kings'.

[2] Fatafehi was the family name: this was a half-brother, Ma'ulupekotofa.

in the justice of this procedure, look'd on with seeming pleasure, and when 175
I turn'd the fellow overboard, tho' there were at least 20 Canoes about, no
one for a quarter of an hour wou'd take him up: I adher'd to this Plan, 685
which tho' it did not abolish this confounded custom, it render'd it much 123
less frequent. The Indians themselves so far saw the justice of it, that we had several instances of their detecting a Thief which had eluded the vigilance of our People, & bringing him to me with his stolen Goods; upon these Occasions I always liberally rewarded the Prosecutor & rewarded the Thief. I offerd abundance of fine Things if they wou'd return my Cats, but they were too fond of them, I found them irretrievable. Our general 175
Trade at these Isles were Hatchets Nails, Knives, Looking-glasses, Beads, 499
& sometimes a peice of red Cloth; the Blue & red Beads were what they
most esteem'd, any other Colour they put very little Value upon. 123

Our Method was, whenever we went to an Island, one of the first things [822]
we did, was to look out for a convenient market Place; here we stationed our People who were adjudg'd to that duty, which were generally the Gunners of the 2 Ships, & here the Natives very regularly brought their Merchandize; sometimes they wou'd bring them to the Ships, where there were likewise people appointed to bargain with them. The Agee's frequently made us large presents of Yams, Hogs &c; this was pleasing, as it kept up that social appearance, which it was both our Inclination & Interest to maintain; but they were always in the End, by far the dearest Provision we got. Every place we went to was deficient in that important [312]
requisite, good Water, we got some at them all, but cou'd not denominate it good: at Anamooka it was rather brackish, at the Arpi Isles rather filthy, and at Amsterdam it was both; however it was all I believe very wholesome, for we found no bad effects from the use of any of it, we had no other, & our People were all very healthy, but it was not so palatable as we cou'd wish.

They tell us, that at Vow-Vow (which they say is a large Isle, laying N° 175
of the Arpi Isles one days sail) there is a very good Harbour with a fine
Stream of Water running into it;[1] they tell us too, that there's abundance of 823
excellent Water at a Group of Isles, which they call Fidgi, which they say lie WNW 5 Days sail with a fair Wind from those they call the Arpi Isles where we were: five days sail for one of those Canoes is a great distance, they sail very fast; from all the Accounts I cou'd get, I shou'd conclude the distance about 200 Leagues. These Fidgi Men are the Masters of this part 175
of the World; these People, own they beat and do as they please with them;
they are very lavish in the praises of the Country; they say it abounds in 829
every good thing, that the Women are very handsome, and the Men very good, if Friends, but if Enemies they are very devils; in short these our good Friends here, are in perfect dread of them, but they are now upon very good Terms. A Canoe came from Fidgi whilst we staid here; one peculiarity 000
I observ'd in the Men, they had all the Grisle of the Ear cut out, so

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[1] The reference may be to Neiafu, a deep and land-locked harbour.

[1777]

000 that nothing remain'd of the Ear, but the outside fleshy Skin; this I understand was for the reception of some Ornament, which was fashionable at their Isle, but having nothing in it now, it hung about their Shoulders.
175 The Natives of Fidgi are the only people in this part of the World, who use
Bows & Arrows in Battle: it is very amazing, that tho' these Friends of
411 ours, experience the efficacy of them in their own destruction, that they
177 do not attempt an imitation, but still adhere to their Spears & Clubs,
which they find so infinitely inferior Weapons, they have Bows and Arrows,
with which they Shoot Birds & Fish, but have no idea of improving them
175 to nobler uses, tho' they have the Example before their Eyes. They tell us,
the Fidgi Gentry frequently eat their Prisoners, & deem a good jolly
829 Carcass of a Man the most delicious Fare in the World, so much so, that
the Feast is wholly devoted to the Gentry, the lower Class not being
sufferd to taste: they give us so particular an account of this Business & at
the same time it is so universal among them, that for my own part I have
no doubt of its Authenticity, and that they do deem it a choice repast.
175 Every principal Family among our Friends, here, have a particular burying
764 Place, which they call their Mori; it is form'd by throwing up an
Elevation about 6 or 8 feet above the general Surface of the Earth, which
766 they render compact by facing it with large Stones or Sod; a very large one
[349] in particular at Amsterdam, was fac'd with Stones which they had hewn
for that purpose, about a foot thick, 5 or 6 in length, & 4 or 5 in breadth;[1]
in the middle of this rising is a House into which the dead Body is carried &
[769] buried. These Elevations of the Mori's are from an 100 to 2 or 300 yard,
in circumference, they are held very sacred; nobody goes near them but the
[565] People of the Family: it wou'd be Death to one of the lower Class of
[688] People to enter one of the little burial Houses, & I much query if it wou'd
not, to be seen walking over the Eminence of the Mori. There must be a
175 great deal of Pain in their Mourning Ceremonies for their Friends here,
765 they make a confounded howling & beat their Faces just upon the Cheek
Bone, till the Blood & Tears flow most abundantly. I believe the more
heartily they beat themselves, the greater Compliment they are suppos'd
to pay to the deceas'd; they must have some very persuasive Inducement,
for 'tis almost incredible to what a degree they torment themselves upon
[785] these Occasions. A very fine Lass, a particular Friend of Feenow's, with
whose Household I was very intimate, made herself such a fright (in
honour of old Mallawogga's wife, who was a friend of hers, and died whilst
we were there) that I absolutely knew no more of her at our next Meeting,
than if I had never seen her in my Life: that mutilation of the hand by
cutting off the little finger, is certainly a ceremony at the death of their
Relations; I enquir'd the particulars of this Circumstance of many of them;
they all told me, the right hand finger was devoted to the father, and the
left to the Mother.[2]

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[1] This was evidently a *langi*, or royal tomb.

[2] This last detail of the propitiation ceremony so often referred to is found nowhere else, but is not impossibly true.

Rank in Tonga[1]

Adrienne L. Kaeppler
Bernice P. Bishop Museum

The Tongan archipelago lies in the South Pacific approximately between 131
18° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 176° west longitude, southeast of
Fiji and southwest of Samoa. The 269 square miles are divided among some
150 islands, many of which are uninhabited. The population in 1967 was more 161
than 78,000. Tongans are Polynesians, but there is a definite admixture with
Fijians, with whom, both traditionally and at the present time, there is 144
much social intercourse. Many Tongan genealogies include one or more [829]
Fijians, and these people are more highly admired than Samoans, who
are closer to Tongans in both physical type and culture. A well known [643]
example is the late Queen Sālote's half-brother, who is the son of her father,
Tupou II, and a high-ranking Fijian woman.

Tongans have their own language, derived from a proto-language which 197
seems to have been one of the first groups to appear in the differentiation
of the Polynesian language family. The Tongan language has its closest
similarities with Uvean and Niuean, and somewhat lesser ones with Samoan
and Fijian (Green 1966: 13). Highly developed in Tongan is a 576
language of respect, in which words reflect societal ranking. Thus for the 195
same meanings, when speaking to the king one uses different words from 565
those used when speaking to chiefs, and still other words are used in speaking
to commoners. Thus "go" is *hā'ele* when referring to the King, *me'a*
to chiefs, *'alu* to commoners, and *lele,* the ordinary word for "run," is used
when speaking of oneself to persons of higher rank. Integrally related to [537]
the language of respect is speechmaking. Ceremonial attendants (*matāpule*)
are the traditional speechmakers and are of necessity well versed in the
language of respect.

The most pervasive concept in Tongan culture is that of hierarchical 554
ranking. All interpersonal relationships in the island kingdom are governed 181
by principles of rank, and material culture and language reflect
this ranking.[2] The purpose of this essay is to delineate how categories of 121
people are ranked, the principles on which rank and status are based, and
the relationships between the various kinds of ranking. The focus is ethnographic,
and an attempt will be made to describe organizing principles
important to the Tongans in ordering their social relationships.

In order to understand rank within Tongan society, one must 554
conceptually distinguish social status, governing relationships within a [121]
small kin group, from societal ranking, governing relationships within the
society as a whole. Social status, which is based upon traceable consanguineal [612]

535 The Tongans when seeing a modern rendition of the Hawaiian dance move-
829 ment *'uwehe* in which the knees were opened to the sides, were shocked
(traditionally in Hawaii this movement is done bending the knees
535 forward). A group of school children in Tonga did a take-off on
837 ballet for a program but refused to use their upper legs as is proper
in ballet which caused their performance to have very little resemblance to classical ballet.

535 Movement of the upper leg is hindered by a tightly wrapped *vala*,
292 a garment which extends from waist to knee for both men and women.
Traditionally this wrap-around skirt-like covering was made of tapa;
today it is made of cloth. Only during dances do the women wear the
[291] *vala* to the knees. For ordinary street wear women wear the *vala*
extending from waist to ankle under Western style clothes. 'Traditional' Tongan dance costumes used today consist of a *vala* of tapa (or cloth) completely covered with ti leaves, shells, seeds, or layers of tapa. On top of this dancers wear a waist mat (*ta'ovala*) of woven pandanus or a flower or leaf girdle (*sisi*) which extends downward several inches from the waist. This clothing not only restricts movements of the hips and upper legs but also hides any movement made there.

[824] Today for one type of dance called *tau'olunga* a skirt of shredded
hibiscus inner bark (*fau*) is sometimes worn, especially for informal
535 or tourist type occasions. During this kind of dance the movements
of the legs are a bit more free, but it is always the lower leg which

535 although a modern innovation is to form a wide angled 'V'. The
535 musicians sit inside the curved row of dancers. Traditionally the
533 associated music consisted of singing and beating on a *tafua*, that is,
[534] a mat which had bamboos rolled inside. The *tafua* was struck with
[178] two sticks to establish the pulse for the singing and *haka*. Today the
fa'ahiula is often performed without *tafua* percussion.

535 The singing, however, is not dispensible, because in many cases
533 the movements are really an accompaniment to poetry. Melodic pitch
538 range is quite small and the pulse organization[3] is often 4 or 8.
In some cases there are several phrases with 8 pulses followed by a phrase with a different number of pulses. Singing is done by the dancers and those who beat the *tafua*. Sometimes men and women will sit behind the performers and sing, but they are not a necessary part of the performance.

535 The dancers sometimes divide physically into two or more groups
533 (*fa'ahi*) which sing alternately or polyphonically, and their movements
538 also differ. Much of the poetry of the *fa'ahiula* has been handed
[177] down from generation to generation and is no longer understood. In
[829] such cases the Tongans rationalise that the words are Samoan, which is
the usual explanation of something that the Tongans do not know.

There are three types of structure of *fa'ahiula* poetry. The first type has one standard phrase repeated alternately with each of

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[3] 'Pulse organisation' is used in this paper to avoid implications of the Western concept 'meter.'

535 There is also a special dance group of the Palace known as 'Kava Tonga,' which dances for formal occasions.

114 I have argued elsewhere (Kaeppler 1967b) that the *lakalaka* is an
585 evolved form of the ancient dance type *me'elaufola*. Innovations were
178 dispensing with indigenous musical instruments of bamboo stamping
[534] tubes and bamboos struck with sticks, and changes that were necessary
for men and women to take part in the same performance, which was
535 mainly that both should do the same foot movements. In the Tongan
829 view the *lakalaka* is a recently created dance genre, and it is
credited to Tuku'aho, chief of Tatakamotonga, and a *punake*, 'composer and instructor of dances and their poetry,' known as Malukava. The official view of the government in regard to *lakalaka* is that it originated after the first missionaries started schools in Tonga. "The teachers would rise and repeat some of their nursery rhymes and at the same time demonstrate with their hands the various actions depicted by the rhymes. The children would follow suit and gradually this action song evolved" (Premier's Office, 1962, p. 17). It is said that Tuku'aho, when he heard of the children's recitations, decided that a dance built on the same principles would be appropriate.

535 *Lakalaka* is performed by men and women together who stand in two or more rows facing the audience, the men on one side the women on the other. The two groups do different sets of movements. The men's are virile and vigorous while women's are soft and graceful. The men's movements are bigger, looser and freer, and quite often the arms are

535 *Ma'ulu'ulu*, like other Tongan genres, has its well known choreographers. The most famous is Peni Tutuila, who choreographs the Queen Salote College *ma'ulu'ulu*. This dance has been seen throughout the world in the Cinerama production, "South Seas Adventure." Students of Peni have choreographed *ma'ulu'ulu* in his style and others have 'stolen' his routines. Peni comes from the island of Uiha in the Ha'apai group of islands, the son of a reknowned female choreographer.

Another exponent of *ma'ulu'ulu* is the Honorable Ve'ehala, noble of Fahefa who is recognized throughout the Kingdom for his knowledge of Tongan traditions including dances--especially *lakalaka* and *ma'ulu'ulu*. Several of the Lapaha *pulotu haka* also choreograph *ma'ulu'ulu*.

Tafi

A subdivision of *ma'ulu'ulu* is a dance called *tafi*. That is, it is classified as a *ma'ulu'ulu* by many Tongans. The only people I found who do not classify it as a *ma'ulu'ulu* are the people of
● [829 Fua'amotu village, and it is they who perform the *tafi*. They say that
177] *tafi* is a 'real Tongan dance' and not a *ma'ulu'ulu* which came from Samoa. They also say it was originated by Tuku'aho who also originated the *lakalaka*. Tuku'aho was chief of two villages and after he gave
[539] the *lakalaka* to Tatakamotonga he gave the *tafi* to Fua'amotu. When the dance was originated in about the 1890's it is said to have consisted

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

585 **THE STRUCTURE OF TONGAN DANCE**

Tongan dance structure can be analyzed by division into four levels of organization--kinemic, morphokinemic, motif, and genre. One could argue, especially from the Western point of view, that I have skipped the important level of the individual composition. This level, however, is not relevant in Tongan dance. An individual's repertoire typically consists of one example from two or three dance genres. They do not speak of performing a particular composition and they seldom use the genre name as a noun. Rather, using the name as [829] a verb, they would speak of performing the genre. The Tongan way of separating individual compositions is by the village or the individuals who perform them.

Kinemic Level

The first level of Tongan dance organization is the kinemic. This level has been shown to have 47 units which are the basic components in the dance tradition of Tonga. These units, which are positions or small units of motion, can be divided into three groups based on the part of the body which produces them--arms, legs, and head. The movement or position of other body parts such as torso or hips are not significant at this level of analysis of Tongan dance. Each of the 47 kinemes may have several allo-kines which may vary

Tongans and Europeans

276 When the Wesleyan Missionaries first arrived in Tonga in the early
nineteenth century the role (and fate) of the Christians was often a topic of
574 heated discussion at various *kava* sessions. The following example from a
521 missionary in the islands from August 16, 1822, to October 3, 1823, makes
797 this quite clear:

> 829 At the Cava Ring this morning [Nov. 29, 1822] there were several speeches delivered very prejudicial to our peace. Mafee [making the] Malanga [speech] said that the white people were come as spies and would soon [be] followed by others from England who would take away all Tonga from them. "See, said he, "These people are always praying to their Atuas [*'otua*], as the other Missionaries [of the London Missionary Society in Tonga from 1797 to 1800] were; and what was the consequence of their praying? Why, the wars broke out and all the old chiefs were killed." Malabow one of the Matabolles related his dream, the burden of which was that the old chiefs came back from Boolotoo last night, and seeing the fencing of our garden, said, "What is that?" They were answered, "It is the white people's Ahey [*'api*], or place of abode." Upon which, they became much displeased, and said, "The white people will pray you all dead." Much more to the same purpose was said in the Cava ring party. The multitude believed all and are much dissatisfied with us (Walter: November 29, 1822).

276 In the nineteenth century, *kava* drinking sessions were a way of
discussing current affairs and maintaining Tongan unity in the face of
574 missionary influence on Tongan life. One European non-missionary observer
797 of nineteenth century Tongan life wrote:

> [521]
> [186] The practise of kava-drinking seems to be falling much into disuse, particularly among the Christians, who are not encouraged to continue it by the [Wesleyan] missionaries (Erskine 1853:149).

The missionaries were opposed to *kava* drinking yet the Tongans continued drinking. The *kava* ceremonies clarified the basic cultural problems (and rules) of Tongan society and, as such, the ceremonies were difficult to
276 eliminate. John Thomas, a Wesleyan missionary in the islands from 1826 to
574 1850 and again from 1855 to 1859, also provides us with some information
797 concerning the discussions at the *kava* ceremonies regarding the missionaries:

> 521 The King was not at school this morning. Several others were [also] kept away at a cava party. I learned from an Englishman at this place that various things are talked about [at the kava parties] of an unfavourable nature respecting us, calculated to grieve us if we were strangers to the devices of Satan and the fallen state of the heathen [or non-Wesleyan Tongans]. But we leave these things to the Lord who will give us strength (1830 Letter-Journal).

562
644 Tongan culture. In aboriginal Tonga, the *Tamaha* and her descendants
554 always were well treated.
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INTERPRETATION AND SUMMARY

178 Change obviously takes place over time and to discuss changes in Tonga
[171] one must first know what Tonga was like. Tonga is the only Polynesian
island group to successfully survive into the twentieth century. It is
178 currently a Constitutional Monarchy under His Majesty King Taufa'ahau
642 Tupou IV. The survival and establishment of the constitutional monar-
643 chial form of government was due to a skillful and somewhat bloodthirsty unification of the archipelago in 1852 by King George Tupou, later known as "the First" and a Great-Great-Great Grandfather of his current majesty.

178 The unification of the archipelago after the final war in 1852 and the
177 subsequent reorganization and codification of the laws along Western European concepts brought about changes which have had ramifications in Tonga to this day. Scarr has shown that Tongans were advised in the nineteenth century that if Tongans wanted to avoid being "taken over" by larger foreign powers, Tonga would have to take on the trappings of
178 Westernization. This Westernization was replete with a "Western facade"
177 of a written Constitution and codified laws (Scarr 1968: 86). Thus the
642 Constitution of 1875 must serve as a landmark for virtually any discussions pertaining to Tongan culture.

121 In a volume on psychological anthropology, it only seems fitting that there be some psychological aspects to the paper: psychological aspects concerning both the Tongans and the numerous Europeans who have been
554 in Tonga and who have written on Tonga. For aboriginal Tongans, rank was something which came about because one was born into the position. Status could be achieved by means of arranged marriages, skill at leadership or warfare, or anything which would virtually enhance an individual
602 in the minds of fellow Tongans. The family was all important, or the
[178] genealogical relationships between individuals of the extended family. In aboriginal Tonga, politics was "kinship writ large," something which
602 seems to exist to this day. The *Tonga Chronicle* of October 17, 1971, had the following statement in reference to the wife of His Majesty King
642 Taufa'ahau Tupou IV:

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> Queen Mata'aho in an interview with the Singapore newspaper *Straits Times* explained the tradition of the people and the monarchy in Tonga is like one big family with the King and Queen looked on as parents.

CHAPTER I

PROBLEM AND PROCEDURE

Introduction

121 [114] In this dissertation the fit between behavior and a conscious model for behavior is examined. The data utilized in this study were obtained in Tonga as part of my research on the topics of village economies and kinship reciprocity.

The study of the relationship between ideals and behavior is one of considerable importance. I think it is evident that some social scientists operate as if conscious models and behavior reflect the same reality or else they do not consider the problem at all. Later I will give examples of how such positions have led to misleading statements about Tongan kinship and exchange. It is also true that people may think their conscious model of some area of behavior reflects the behavior pattern actually present in that area. For instance, Tongans [602] [829] believe that their pattern of behavior in their relationships with kinsmen conforms to their model of kinship reciprocity. By examining the fit between ideals, conscious models, and behavior, something valuable may be learned about both folk and scientific conceptualization of social reality.

In addition to the problem established above, this study includes description and analysis of Tongan kinship. As will be evident later

585
582 in some situations.
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Failure to conform to the conscious model of marriage results in strong legal and social sanctions, and this is a good reason for a high degree of conformity between the marriage model and marriage behavior.
602 In contrast, the conscious model of kinship reciprocity is not enforced
626 by strong sanctions. It seems that conscious models, of themselves,
121 carry no power or authority over the behavior within their respective activity system, rather sanctions, if present, are imposed from without. Conscious models only tell how something ought to be done; they do not establish and administer the penalty for being wrong.

Some conscious models may not function to order empirical phenomena at all. Rather, they provide a conceptual scheme to which only ideas, and not "facts" an be related. Fit or conformity between a conscious model and behavior can, after all, be determined by observation from different perspectives and levels of reality.
[602] My Tongan informants thought
[829] that exchange between kinsmen proceeded in the manner indicated by the conscious model of kinship reciprocity. Perhaps the Tongans with their understanding of their own culture are able to "see" that the conscious model is working regardless of the outcome of exchange. Perhaps the conscious model is only supposed to be followed in certain situations which were left unspecified and, therefore, unrecorded.

Possibly a productive way to view conscious models would be to consider them as single components of larger decision-making models. For instance, the Tongan activity system of exchange has a decision-making model which possibly includes the conscious model plus such variables as

797 destroyed. The half-hearted attempts to understand the customs of the people were more for personal security purposes than for their intrinsic or functional value to be exploited to the full for the purpose of winning the people to Christianity.

797 Like many other Tongan chiefs of his day, Ata wanted
Europeans to live under him and to serve him but not as his
177 masters or rival 'chiefs'. Hence his resentment of what he regarded
[829] as Thomas's attempts to make himself chief among his people.
Again like many other Tongans, Ata and the people of Hihifo were more interested in the missionaries' trade goods than their teachings. Their hopes of gaining material goods were frustrated by the attitudes of the missionaries on these matters. The missionaries expected the Tongans to look after their material needs, since they had left their own homes to come to Tonga to save the Tongans from spiritual and intellectual degradation. This outlook of the missionaries led them at times to what the Tongans must have regarded as unfair bargaining and even meanness.

797 On the missionaries' request, Ata got his people to build a
fence for them but when he 'was told what we should give [for
439 the job] he would not look at the things, but went away . . .'
Ata was greatly annoyed by the smallness of the payment. The missionaries used to buy six chickens for a plane iron, a pig for a hatchet (Thomas, Journal, 24 July 1826), or 180 lb. of yams or more for a shilling. Apparently some of the chiefs resented this so much that the people were forbidden to bring anything to sell to Thomas. Thomas explained the reason for the veto: 'this is through Tofooa the Chief's brother . . . He is displeased with us, and says we wanted to buy a large quantity of yams for a spade' (Thomas, Calendar and Diary, 4 May 1827).

797 Failing to get the material rewards they had expected from the
missionaries, the people, with the full knowledge of many of
[685] the chiefs and probably their blessings, reverted to robbing the
missionaries of their goods, threatening to burn down the mission premises and even to kill them. The situation had become so frustrating that Thomas was forced to arm himself day and night. He wrote:

> This last few nights we have had to keep a sharp look out on our premises. I have kept a gun loaded and have walked about with a

797 the task appeared to be dragging, to the great concern of some of
779 the missionaries. 'I am ashamed for the District', wrote Rabone. 'we are not of one heart and mind, therefore we do not go on with our work [translating]' (Rabone, Journal, 12 Dec. 1846). However, in 1853, the Reverend Richard Amos was able to write concerning a revised edition of the New Testament:

> As far as I have examined the book. I am persuaded that it is decidedly the best edition we have had. and greatly superior to any former one. If it had been printed with accented letters to mark the quantity of vowels, and the catches, or breaks, peculiar to the language, I think it might have been pronounced perfect. (*W-M Mag.*, Sept. 1854:871)

The Bible had a far-reaching effect on the lives of the people. It was not only regarded as the authority on Christian doctrine but also on day-to-day behaviour. King George called it 'a compass, a chart, telling us where we are and where to go' (Young 1854:443), and many people committed to memory long passages from it. A story is told of a sick man who, in two months, had committed to memory the books of Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and I Thessalonians and who used to repeat a book at a time. 'Mrs. Wilson [the missionary's wife] sometimes sent him his dinner; and on one occasion, when the girl took it to him, she said, "Have you had anything to eat today?" He replied in the affirmative. "What have you had?" enquired the girl. "Had?" said he, "I have eaten the whole of the Corinthians" ' (Farmer 1855:398).

797 The missionaries, right from the beginning, gave education a high priority in their work. Accordingly, in their efforts to con-
871 solidate their gain, promotion of education was one of the most important tools. At the District Meeting in Vava'u in May 1850, the members were unanimous in their views with regard to education. 'We must have schools in every place,' they declared, '. . . thus elevating the rising race with the Bible in their hands, far above the darkness and baseness of heathenism, and the wicked intrigues of Popery' (*W-M Mag.*, 1851:823).

[643] The Tongans responded to this call with great enthusiasm. King George himself took the lead and supported in every way
[829] possible the missionaries' efforts to build schools and training

institutions, convinced that the only thing that differentiated the 797
white man from the others in ability and wisdom was their possession
of superior knowledge. In a sermon preached from Hosea 871
4:6, 'My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge', King 643
George declared: 829

> See what knowledge has done for the white man! See what ignorance has done for the men of this land! Is it that white men are born more wise? Is it that they are naturally more capable than others? No: but they have obtained knowledge . . . This is the principal cause of the difference. (Young 1854:443)

Schools followed conversion throughout the islands of the group 797
in order to meet the demands of the people. The more new schools
were established, the heavier the demand for teachers became. 871
Teachers were recruited from among the ranks of local preachers,
and many were ill-suited for their task. So weekly teachers' meetings 875
were organised in order to help teachers with their work, but
it soon became obvious that the only remedy lay in the establishment
of an institution for training teachers.

Accordingly, the first training institution was opened at Neiafu, 874
the capital of Vava'u, on 13 July 1841 by the Reverend Francis
Wilson, who had proved himself a very able educationist. Characteristically,
King George took the lead. Without the knowledge
of the missionaries he had organised the erection of a building
for the institution free of cost to the mission, and while at Vava'u
he himself attended the institution regularly. He also gave a large
piece of land for the use of the students, who had to grow their [877]
own food. Some of the students were married men with families.
The majority were trained as teachers while a few were trained
to be assistant missionaries.

Unfortunately Wilson died after several months of sickness in 797
March 1846. In the following year, 1847, the General Superintendent
of the Wesleyan Missions in the South Seas, the Reverend 874
W. Lawry, arrived in Tonga with four new missionaries, Thomas
Adams, George Daniel, Walter J. Davis, and Richard Amos. Amos
was trained as a teacher at the Normal Institution in Glasgow,[3]

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[3] The system, founded by David Stow, embodied the idea of educating 'the whole man' (Stow 1840:12).

659 as to the leadership of the church. In 1834 John Thomas reported
797 of King Josiah Aleamotu'a that, 'In the course of two years I
have spent with him he has interfered with me on several occasions,
643 he has got an idea that it is his duty to govern in the Church of
Christ, his place to appoint teachers or displace them—his place
to take into the Society and put out etc.' (Thomas, Diary and
letter book: 153).

The consummation of this alliance between church and state occurs in the remarkable career of King George. In a letter to the Committee in London, the Reverend Charles Tucker wrote of him:

> You have heard, I suppose, that our excellent King is a class-leader and a Local Preacher. He is a fine fellow, a genuine Christian, a man of noble mind . . . We have the very flower of the people on the Local Preachers' plan. so far as rank, piety and talent are concerned . . . The King is as obedient as any of them to our directions. (*W-M Mag.*, April 1836:304)

[798] While the progress of the church and state alliance was hindered
on Tongatapu by bitter opposition from a strong and influential
band of heathen chiefs, it sailed before the wind in Ha'apai and
643 Vava'u where Tāufa'āhau's rule was uncontested. King George
829 was convinced that, in general, the ways of the *kau papālangi*
(Europeans) were superior to those of the Tongans, for he was
quick to see that they possessed superior wealth, knowledge and,
above all, power. He was responsive to innovations and was
prepared to learn all he could from Europeans and put what he
had learned into practice, whether it was in the field of culture,
economics, religion or politics.

563 Unlike Hawaii, Fiji, Samoa and many other Pacific islands,
which had quite large numbers of white settlers, Tonga, in the
first half of the nineteenth century, had only a small number of
Europeans and, apart from the missionaries, they were mostly
escaped convicts and runaway sailors. They did not own land or
establish businesses, but lived with various chiefs who had befriended them (Dillon 1829, II:260), so they could not be classed
659 as settlers. The absence of a settler class to whom to turn made
797 the chiefs, especially Tāufa'āhau in the early days of his political
career, rely almost exclusively upon the Wesleyan missionaries for
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563

was uncivilised, or worse' (Collocott, n.d. (a):199). Blanc (1934: 797
43) has claimed that the European style of clothing was detri- 291
mental to the health of the Tongans:

> Being used to anointing their bodies with coconut oil when leaving their houses, and if caught in the rain receiving no hurt therefrom, they neglected to change into dry clothes after a wetting, and so developed colds and chest troubles which later turned to the dread scourge of consumption.

The missionaries' view on this matter can be seen in Article XLI [671] which stated that everyone had to be clothed.

The missionaries, however, cannot be blamed completely for clothing the people. The Tongans themselves were eager to [829] imitate, though imperfectly, the way the Europeans dressed, for they, particularly the leading chiefs, believed that it was part of progress.

The General Secretary of the Wesleyan Mission was very dis- 797
appointed that the promulgation of the 1850 Code had not been 671
brought about earlier, since he could see no reason for the long delay, and he implied that the missionaries, being the advisers, were to be blamed for it. However, Peter Turner explained that [648] the Tongans were very jealous of any foreign interference, and sometimes even questioned the motives of their missionaries, whether they might not wish to bring them under some foreign government. This was the reason why they had not done more to promote a code of laws like those of the Society Islands and Hawaii. He wrote in June 1850, a month before the promulgation of the second Code of Laws in Tonga, 'We have left them to feel their own wants, and we hope now they will make some move towards improvement in civilization and political economy' (*W-M Mag.*, 1851:511-12).

Among other reasons, the two Codes are important for the 671
fact that they formed the basis of the future constitution of Tonga.
They took two very important steps. Firstly, they limited the 642
power of the chiefs, and thereby raised, to some extent, the social, 671
economic, religious as well as political status of the commoners.
Secondly, by limiting the power of the chiefs they consolidated the 642
new and powerful position of the *hau*. 565
[643]

state, church, and education. As a surviving, highly visible sector of legally 565
supported hereditary privilege, offering exclusive access to sources of wealth, 178
influence, and power within the Tongan new order, the nobles are increasingly 565
criticized by Tongans and outside observers as a source of injustice in a society
that was created on the themes of emancipation and individual liberty. The 178
tempo of such criticisms has increased significantly since the succession in 829
1965 of Tupou IV, who is committed to modernization and closer relations 185
with other regional and world governments.

Although viewed stereotypically by some as an anachronistic and 565
conservative segment of society, the nobility in terms of the composition and
activities of its membership cannot be fairly characterized so one-dimensionally.
As social historians have shown for old elites in the transformations of European [171]
societies (see Moore, 1967; Stone, 1965), the composition of Tonga's hereditary
nobility, although fixed and rigid in principle, has been characterized by a
degree in fluidity. Further, its response to generally modernizing and liberating
changes has in fact revealed some degree of flexibility and accommodation.

Issues raised in the public litigation of noble succession, a matter determined 565
by law and the Tongan Land Court, offer a perspective on the nature of the 428
social composition of the nobility and also on the significance of the noble
title system as a determinant of social status in modern Tonga. The purpose
of this paper is to present a detailed account of noble succession disputes and 121
to discuss what these disputes indicate concerning the position of the nobility
in modern Tongan society. I have described the modern social contexts and 114
activities of the nobility elsewhere (Marcus, 1975b).

Trends of Change in Tongan Society

The Kingdom of Tonga consists of an archipelago of 150 islands with a 131
total area of 269 square miles. These islands are just west of the International
Dateline, about 430 miles southeast of Suva, Fiji, a similar distance southwest
of Western Samoa, and about 1,200 miles northeast of Auckland, New Zealand.

Only about 36 islands of the archipelago are inhabited, and these are 361
clustered in three main groups: the southern or the Tongatapu group, including
the single largest island of the Kingdom, Tongatapu, on which the port capital
of Nuku'alofa is located; the middle or Ha'apai group of widely scattered small
islands; and the northern or Vava'u group of islands. The rapidly increasing 161
population has been estimated to have reached 100,000. In recent years, land
shortage and rising aspirations, resulting from increased contacts with the outside, 178
have been accompanied by marked increases both in internal migration from 166
the outer islands to Tongatapu and in temporary and permanent migration 167
abroad to countries such as New Zealand and the United States. The Tongan
economy is predominantly agricultural, based on mixed-crop production by 433
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Tongans often spoke to me of the succession disputes as being *fakamā* 565 ("shameful" or "embarrassing"), but this feeling concerned the public airing of 428 intra-kin group disputes, rather than behaviour specifically unbecoming nobles 829 as such. The implication from such popular response to title cases is that they had become generally conceptualized just as Queen Sālote had apparently feared they would: primarily as disputes among otherwise ordinary people for the possession of chiefly resources in the form of landed wealth and honour embodied in titled office. Perhaps most clearly the succession cases illustrate the disjunction 565 between chiefliness as formally defined, title-vested privilege and chiefliness as an exclusive attribute of either kingly blood descent, kingly favour, or direct 428 descent from pre-Constitutional chiefly lines, vested in individuals. Although 554 aristocratic blood and title honour overlap on one extreme, the outcomes of certain succession cases reveal the completely pedestrian nature of mere title-holding, on the other, where a person, who possesses neither current blood *'eiki*-ness nor is in the traditional direct line of succession, has gained access through litigation to a title and enjoys the privileges and respects of a title-holder.

The noble title system is a set of offices with defined privileges that 565 represent a chiefly heritage in support of the Tupou dynasty, which may or may 428 not be all occupied at any point of time by the appropriate traditional title-holding lines. In theory, it is appropriate for anyone, who legally qualifies, to [641] be a noble, however his social standing may have declined in post-1875 Tongan [554] society. Although certainly not open to broad segments of the population, access to the nobility, as has been publicly demonstrated in court, is not all that exclusive either.

Still, despite such demonstrations, the majority of gentry titles are held by lines that have been in continuous possession of them from the pre-Constitutional period. But even within these chiefly kin groups, succession 565 cases reveal the same sorts of striving, competition, and cooperation among 428 discrete family units that are also the social processes within all other, presumably commoner, kin groups in modern Tonga. The chiefly kin groups differ only in 602 that they can compete for or share in specially defined resources (title-office and 593 associated estates) from which others are excluded. In the modern context, noble title-holding only rarely entails active leadership of groups of people. 565 Outside leadership in ritual or ceremonial contexts, the regional and local chiefs [178] have been supplanted by a bureaucratic state and church organization. Thus, possessing a noble title and estates is a matter of enjoying a personal (and to some extent family kin group) resource rather than accepting administrative responsibilities.

What succession disputes have revealed most broadly, then, is that the 565 defined sector of privilege in the new order — the nobility — has been ringed on 571 all sides and thoroughly infiltrated by the socially levelling and individualizing 178 554

245 1971 prices paid to Tongan farmers for first grade copra
435 were T$70 per ton compared to $T115 in January 1971 (Tonga
245 Copra Board Records). Similar difficulties are also
435 experienced by farmers selling whole coconuts to the Copra
655 Board. From March to May 1971, the Copra Board paid growers
three cents per whole coconut. From June to December, the
price was only 1.2 cents per nut (Tonga Copra Board Records).
245 The factors responsible for these prices are not understood
655 by the average Tongan grower and often attributed to poor
[435 management by the Copra Board. Internal problems within the
829] Board and financial losses of a construction company
established by the Board have helped destroy much of the
confidence that growers had in the Board.

245 As a result of these economic factors in combination
with problems with pests and disease, there was in 1971
little interest in improvement and expansion of coconut
cultivation. The palms are generally neglected, with weeds
and brush around the bases; traditional burning practices
harm the bases of the trees; crops are planted too close to
the trees; and a large proportion of the trees are declining in yield owing to senility (Liyanage, 1971: personal
245 communication). In order to revitalize the coconut
654 industry, a Coconut Replanting Scheme was established in
1966 and a Coconut Subsidy Scheme was begun in 1967.

[457] The Coconut Replanting Scheme (C.R.S.), which was made
possible through a grant from the British Ministry of

[1841-1847]

catechists and preachers he used theological lectures prepared by the saintly 797
John Hunt who died in Fiji in 1848. Amos's institution became a model also in 874
its appearance; the homes of the married students were set in trim gardens and [351]
connected with well-kept paths. His students worked four hours each day in their
food-gardens on the block of 20 acres set apart for them. [877]

On his second visit in 1850, Lawry held an examination day for all the 797
Tongatapu schools. It was a great festival indeed. Lawry stood on Zion Hill and 872
was overwhelmed with emotion as he thought of the conditions that he found in
1822-3 and as he now saw the approaching lines of schools from the different
villages, accompanied by their choirs:

> "The processions emerged from the luxuriant groves of evergreens and shade, and [533]
> ascended the Chapel Hill, with measured step and slow pace, singing their 'songs of
> degrees' (psalms of ascents), the females taking their part and the men theirs, all joining
> in full chorus." (21)

So successful was the work of Amos in Nuku'alofa that other schools on his
model were set up. Still designated "Superintendent of Schools", Amos was
appointed to Vava'u. The Ha'apai Circuit in 1850 gave a glowing account of its [644]
schools; it referred particularly to Queen Salote (Lupe Pau'u), then resident in
Lifuka:

> "She not merely attends as a teacher, but tries to improve herself and, although an elderly lady, yet she makes constant improvement in reading, writing and arithmetic." (22)

Much depended upon the influence of the chiefs in the various districts, and [622]
reports showed that in some cases schools lapsed altogether because of the apathy
of the elders and their failure to encourage the children to attend. The imposition [689]
of civil penalties (e.g., fines) sometimes helped. Schools for adults gradually ceased. [871]

King George had strongly supported Amos's work at Nuku'alofa and this 797
school continued to flourish after Amos removed to Vava'u.(23) The sermon most 871
often quoted on the subject of education was given by the king in Fiji on his way 643
to Sydney in 1853. The text was Hosea iv. 6, "My people are destroyed for lack
of knowledge". In his sermon he declared that the Europeans had the advantage [829]
over Tongans, not in physical but in intellectual equipment, and their fundamental
strength lay in the Bible, the source of true knowledge. The king's words set the
goal for the future Tupou College.

The king in that sermon expressed what all Tongan converts believed; 797
Christianity was the religion of a Book. The Anglican divine, William Chillingworth, 779
may have exaggerated the case when he said in 1638, "The Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants", but every Protestant missionary considered it essential that the translated Scriptures should be in the hands of converts as soon as possible. The Roman Catholic priests in the Pacific had some justification for calling the Protestants "the Biblical missionaries". The pioneers, Nathaniel Turner and his colleagues, knew the importance of not only the Scriptures, but the catechism, hymns, and a simple liturgy for the people's use. The 1841 District Meeting, under John Waterhouse, set up a Translation Committee. The Meeting decided to "avoid as far as possible the introduction of foreign words" and also recommended that a specially qualified missionary be added to the staff for translating,

> "as the missionaries in Tonga do not profess a critical knowledge of the original tongues". (24)

[1843 - 1850]

> adopted and promulgated as their own, and not as the laws of the missionaries. This was accordingly done; and when the code was finally completed and made law the missionaries found in it much that was contrary to their own views." (6) 643 671 177 797

Among important features of this Code were the following:

III. 1. "No respect of persons in the trial of offenders."

III. 3. "The remuneration which the judges and officers shall have made to them by the king is the distribution of the convicted persons amongst them, to labour for them at their respective places." [692]

VII. 4. "Let all know that the separating of man and wife is a difficult matter; since the marriage contract is a command of God, the minister must first marry them; but, in case of trial, and the crime proved, then the minister must pronounce them separated, in the large chapel, before all the people, even as their marriage was performed. Then the writing of divorce shall be given to the innocent party." [586]

VIII and IX. Punishments were provided for adultery and fornication. [684]

XI. "Dancing is strictly forbidden, as well as all heathen customs . . .". [689]

XVII. Abortion "is a most disgusting crime and highly deserves punishment". [684]

XXIX. The sale of land by anyone, chief or commoner, to any foreigner is forbidden. [685]

Lawry wrote of the provisions of the Code of 1850:

> "They are not all that we wish them to be . . . especially on the mode of paying the judges out of the fines levied on the offenders, which is sure to corrupt the seat of justice. . . . Upon the whole, however, this movement is a grand step towards the civilization of the entire nation. . . . There is no good reason why it has been so long delayed. . . . The Statute-book is to be printed at our Mission press." (7) [213]

While Tonga was becoming stabilized in its internal government, its relations with the outside world brought other problems, and here also the Wesleyan Mission became involved. The growing interest of foreign Powers in the Pacific Islands was beginning to affect Tonga and the maintenance of Tonga's independence loomed large in the king's mind. He and his people were very fearful of any foreign designs, real or imaginary. Indeed no Pacific Islands group has been more sensitive at this point. The L.M.S. missionaries in 1797 were plagued by the false reports of the runaway sailors who told the Tongans that the missionaries were agents of Britain who had come to take away the country. Lawry in 1822-3 was harassed by similar lies. Being sold to a foreign nation or seeing their flag hauled down (in Tongan terms) was a lurking fear which unscrupulous Europeans could manipulate, as events in later years showed. 648 829

After 1843, when France annexed Tahiti, a cold shudder passed over many lands in the Pacific. The entry of the French priests into Tongatapu gave rise to some apprehension; if they had not so often spoken of support from French warships the people's fears might soon have subsided. Tupou I realized that France had been aided in Tahiti by the divisions among Tahitian chiefs and the disloyalty of some of them to their monarch. He feared the effects of possible disunity and disloyalty in Tongatapu.

The first approach for British assistance was made by Aleamotu'a. On 19 February 1844 he sent a letter appealing for protection, to Robert FitzRoy, Governor of New Zealand, for transmission to Queen Victoria. Evidently it was sent to the Colonial Office and then to Lord Aberdeen at the Foreign Office, but there was no reply. Its contents revealed the agitation felt by Tongan chiefs because of French policy in the Pacific. (The letter in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, is signed "George of Tonga" but that signature is crossed out and "Josiah" substituted). The letter stated,

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1844 - 1849]

> "Tonga has always been independent, from Tongatapu to the Niuas, from time immemorial always independent and ruled by the Tongans themselves. We have tried to treat visiting ships properly. Now, troubled by the actions of the French in Marquesas, Tonga is afraid it will fall into their hands. Taufa'ahau agrees with me in requesting that you protect Tonga. We regard the English as our *kainga* (= kinsfolk) and we have heard good reports of the help you have given other nations, and we have received Christianity." 648 829

The letter repeated the request to Queen Victoria to protect Tonga and its people.(8)

In 1845 the missionaries received a letter from the British Consul-General in Samoa; this stated merely 648

> "that Great Britain will protect her subjects in the Friendly and Fiji Islands." (9)

A better situation was seen in 1846 when Captain Leconte, *Seine*, rejected a message from the French priests and the chiefs who were their converts in Tongatapu requesting him to consider securing a French protectorate over Tonga.(10) Later French officers were "not so neutral".(11)

In 1847, during Lawry's first visit to Tonga, he was in close consultation with Tupou. He stated,

> "King George has committed to me a letter to His Excellency Governor Grey, of New Zealand, desiring to be under the shadow of British power, and asking the Governor to inquire respecting a letter which had been sent by a former king of Tonga (Aleamotu'a) to the Queen, but to which no answer had been received. The King renews the proposal therein made, that he and his people become not merely the *allies*, but the *subjects*, of the British Crown. This is done because they fear the French, whose base conduct towards the people of Tahiti is fully known here." (12)

Lawry seems to have been mistaken in mentioning "subjects"; the word is not in the king's letter in New Zealand National Archives. (See [14]) Also, "subjects" would be completely at variance with what the king wrote in 1850, as Lawry quoted fully then.

It was in this earlier year, 1847, that the rebel chiefs in Tongatapu, Ma'afu and Lavaka, defiantly rebuilt their forts and the French priests told them that a warship was coming to support them. With this situation as the background, Lawry told the king in 1847 that he believed that Governor Grey would give favourable consideration to a petition to "befriend a fine people who seek to be kept from the spoiler".(13) The letter of 28 August 1847, which Lawry took to Governor Grey, stated:

> "We wish to be friends with England. . . . We do not wish to fall into the hands of any other nation." (14)

In the next year, 1848, Captain Maxwell, H.M.S. *Dido*, came to Tongatapu to inquire into the situation and to bring gifts from Governor Grey to Tupou. On his return Captain Maxwell reported that the Tongans were in favour of British rule, and Grey believed this because of the prevailing menace of French colonialism in the Pacific. The British Government, however, refused to consider any political relationships whatever with Tonga. Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, told Governor Grey on 9 October 1848 that

> "the submission of sovereignty offered by the chiefs of Tonga and Fiji must be declined but in as conciliatory a manner as possible." (15)

Governor Grey tactfully conveyed this message to Tupou, speaking only of Queen Victoria's interest and "disinterested friendship".(16)

When Captain Erskine, H.M.S. *Havannah*, visited Tonga in 1849, he was instructed by Governor Grey again to inform the king that any offer of cession was declined by Britain and that, in his (Erskine's) opinion, the fear of encroachments by the French was groundless.(17)

[1850]

By 1850 the missionaries again expressed their fear that Tonga could not hold out against French designs against its integrity. Their suggestions that Tonga might have to seek protection from Britain annoyed the king who thought that his overtures for friendly relations were being misinterpreted. John Thomas had been responsible for transmitting these, as he thought, innocently, and the king expressed displeasure with Thomas. The old missionary felt keenly the strained relationship that was growing up between him and his old friend. Thomas wrote, 797 648 643

> "I am thought to have used cunning in order to get the Friendly Islands for the British Government, merely because I advised the king at a time when they feared they should have become the slaves of the French, to apply to the English Government for *protection* — to offer themselves to be the friends or subjects of the English (for England has no slaves). France has taken some countries and sometimes threatened Tonga, evils the Lord has averted, English ships of war having more frequently entered and have watched over the people in love." (18)

It would seem that Thomas did not realize that he was on highly dangerous ground when he advised that Tongans should be friends "or subjects".

Peter Turner also referred to the changed feeling, when mentioning the discussions between the king and the missionaries in drawing up the Code of 1850:

> "This people are jealous of any foreign interference, and sometimes have even questioned the motives of their missionaries, whether they may not wish to bring them under some foreign government. This is the reason why we have done more to promote a code of laws like those of Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands." (19) [829]

The most definite expression of Tupou's will is recorded by Walter Lawry in the account of his 1850 visit. It indicates also the Wesleyan Mission's support for the king's determination to maintain Tonga's independence. Coming from Lawry, as General Superintendent of Missions, it could be taken as an official missionary endorsement of the king's policy. Lawry was present when King George was entertained on board H.M.S. *Meander*, Captain the Honourable Henry Keppel, on 21 June 1850, when the king said publicly:

> "I return you my thanks for your kind visit. . . . What is most a matter of thanksgiving is, that Britain has sent us the gospel and the missionaries and the sacred book. . . . It is great love shown to a weak and friendless people, that a wise and powerful nation, such as Britain, should cast its shadow over us. Under this shadow we live. We know of confusion produced in the world by the French and others. We wish not their visit nor friendship. Theirs is a deadly shade." (20)

Following a conversation with the king, Lawry recorded:

> "To prevent all possibility of mistake, I wrote the king this morning (25 June 1850) the following note —
>
> To King George Tupou:
>
> I beg to ask, with great respect, whether I understood the matter correctly last night; namely, First, That you were determined not to part with any land in your dominions throughout the Friendly Isles. Secondly, That though you greatly desire the friendship and alliance of Great Britain, yet you do not intend to be in subjection to any Power or State whatever, but to remain, you and your people, a free and independent nation:
>
> I am, Sir, Your obedient and respectful friend, Walter Lawry.
>
> The King's answer:
>
> My mind is, that I will not verily sell any piece of land in Tonga; for it is small; then, what of it can we sell? And what would be left for ourselves?
>
> I verily wish to be the friend of Britain, in friendly alliance, with all fellowship; but it is not my mind, nor the mind of my people, that we should be subject to any other people or kingdom in this world. But it is my mind to remain an independent nation.
>
> I am, George Tupou." (21)

[1829-1837]

This determination that Tonga should remain independent for all time has 648
undoubtedly been fixed in the minds of the king, his successors, and the people 643
of Tonga ever since. 829

* * * *

It was highly regrettable that the entry of the Roman Catholic priests into 797
Tonga should be associated with fears of French aggression, especially when the 798
Roman Catholic Mission had every right to be considered on its merits. The Wesleyans could be expected to resent the coming of a second Christian Mission into any district already occupied and evangelized; but it was unfortunate that what should have been only a religious question was affected by international politics and also by the residence of the priests in an area where the Ha'a Havea chiefs were continuing their opposition to the authority of George Tupou I.

The priests could not have realized when they began at Pea that their 797
presence would lead to sharp divisions and be associated with a new threat to the 668
unifying rule of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. Unfortunately, for years the efforts of the king to consolidate his kingdom were hindered by the new cleavage amongst his people.

The first suggestion for the entry of the priests into Tonga and other island 797
groups in the Central Pacific had come from the adventurous Peter Dillon. In September 1829 he recommended to Bishop de Solages, for transmission to the French Government, a proposal that it "undertake a great programme of missionary expansion . . . where people are the prey of ignorant Methodists". He named Tahiti, Tonga, Fiji, the Solomons, and New Zealand.(22) Dillon offered his services in such an enterprise but these were not accepted.

The actual establishment of the Mission was the work of the scholarly Bishop Pompallier, supported by priests of the Marist Order. Before leaving France he had an audience with the French king and received from Louis Philippe a letter commending him to all French warship captains in the Pacific.

On 26 October 1837, Bishop Pompallier called at Vava'u in the ship *Raiatea*. John Thomas was absent at a District Meeting at Lifuka. Three priests and two brothers accompanied the Bishop who asked Taufa'ahau for permission to leave
priests on the island. The king replied that all the people of Vava'u had become 797
Christians, and to this the Bishop urged that his was the only true religion. When 798
John Thomas arrived, two days later, he told the Bishop that any decision to receive the priests was the right of Taufa'ahau. Thomas pointed out the undesirability of dividing a people, already united in one faith and under one civil ruler, by introducing another teaching. Thomas recorded that the Bishop replied that "it was farthest from his intention to interfere with us in instructing the people; his only wish was to leave two or three priests to learn the language". It was said that these priests would also look after a depot of stores for use in other groups. Taufa'ahau said that he saw no useful purpose in priests staying for three months to learn the language. Thomas advised the Bishop to go to unevangelized groups and said that the Wesleyans were already operating in Fiji, Samoa, the two Niuas, as well as the rest of Tonga. At the Bishop's request Thomas gave him copies of Wesleyan books printed in Tongan, Fijian and Samoan.(23)

The Roman Catholics were making good their claim to evangelize every part 797
of the globe. It was reasonable, nevertheless, for the Wesleyans to regard it as

[1870-1877]

James Thomas, born at Hobart in 1846, a missionary in Tonga from 1871 to 1877, very hostile towards Baker. 797

In little more than a year after Baker's return in 1869 as Chairman, Stephinson and Wylie brought serious charges against him affecting his moral character. A special District Meeting was held at Lifuka on 23 August 1870 to hear these. Those present, beside Baker, were Watkin, Moulton, Stephinson, W. T. Rabone, Wylie and Greenwood. The details of the charges and evidence are in the Minute Book in the Church Office at Nuku'alofa, and the charges are quoted verbatim by Rutherford.(3) Baker refused to vacate the chair when the brethren, except Watkin and Greenwood, protested against his presiding over his own trial. He debarred Stephinson and Wylie from voting in the cases where they gave evidence. The Tongan witnesses showed a reluctance to be explicit or [829] to say anything against the Chairman (who was regarded as a great chief in Tongan custom). On a charge of imprecatory language against a chief ("Would that Tu'uhetoka were dead! If he were dead, my prayer would be answered") Baker was found guilty, three votes to two, with another not voting. On four charges of improper behaviour towards several women and one man, Baker was acquitted, all either agreeing with these verdicts or not voting, except Moulton who voted against Baker on one of three charges. He was acquitted also on a charge of declaring that a native assistant missionary would be withdrawn from any village that failed to raise fifty buckets of oil at the annual offering. Greenwood, in his Journal, believed that

> "to all appearances he is legally and morally free from guilt", (4)

but added that he was alarmed at the injury that the charges would cause to the Mission's work.

Baker appealed to the Australian Conference in the one case where he was found guilty. He also brought charges against Stephinson and Wylie for making libellous statements against him; these cases came before the Annual District Meeting on 6 December 1870. At this stage in the Minute Book in the Church Office, Nuku'alofa, nearly twenty pages have been torn out; when or by whom it is impossible to say.

The Australian Conference, at Hobart, on 28 January 1871, upon a special committee's report, decided that

> "Mr. Baker's conduct has in some respects been wanting in that gravity and caution which belong to the character of a Christian missionary and it recommends his attention to be called to the need of greater circumspection in his intercourse with the natives."

The decision regarding Stephinson was that

> "he acted injudiciously in his mode of procuring evidence against the Chairman but it cannot blame Mr. Stephinson for taking action on the reports which were in circulation detrimental to the Chairman's character." (5)

Mr. Wylie's conduct towards Mr. Baker, it was found, had been "highly unwise"; he was admonished from the chair of the Conference, removed from the district, but allowed to transfer to the Mission in Fiji.

In view of the squalid circumstances and the baleful effect of the proceedings upon the Tongans as well as the sharp dissension on the Mission Staff, it would have been far wiser for the Conference to have recalled Baker in 1871. Harmony could hardly have been expected after what had occurred. Baker's behaviour, on the evidence, had been coarse and unworthy, as a Tongan nickname for him

[1876-1877]

"excluding Ma'afu of Fiji from the natural succession and causing it to be given to 'Unga", and "becoming interpreter between the German and Tongan Governments". The last charge will be considered in later pages. 797

Baker had little difficulty in meeting most of these charges. He also launched a strong counter-attack on James Thomas. He alleged that Thomas had admitted to him his hope "that Britain would before long take Tonga and that, if he remained in Tonga, he would work for it". As Fiji had just been ceded to Britain, [829] in 1874, the king and his people were very sensitive to the issue of independence. The king was so irate with Thomas that he declared he would be charged with [643] treason if he returned after furlough. Fortunately for him, he left in 1877 and did not return.

The findings of this District Meeting on 11 December 1876, with Tongan as well as English ministers voting, were highly significant. With regard to James Thomas, he was found "guilty of grave indiscretion in making such statements but (the Meeting) scarcely considers that it amounted to a violation of law against interfering in politics". As for Baker, the finding of the Meeting was extremely critical:

> "That this Meeting deprecates the conduct of Bro. Baker in taking so active a part in the preparation of the Constitution of Tonga (1875) and in virtually passing it through the Parliament, and also deprecates his intimate connection with Government business in general and detail, and believes that this is opposed to the Instructions to Missionaries, calculated to produce discord among the brethren and to injure the work of God. This Meeting would therefore respectfully request a deliverance from Conference on the subject by approving or otherwise the conduct of the Chairman." (39)

The January 1877 Conference in Sydney would have acted on this definite resolution if Baker had not failed to attend.

With respect to these adverse findings, Moulton's opinion would not be free from bias, but it was expressed in his letter to Chapman (17 January 1877):

> "The District Meeting (11 December 1876) was a most unharmonious one, and in many things a disgraceful one. As I told you in a previous letter, after I had brought Mr. Baker's doings under your notice without effect, I let the matter alone. Others, however, were not disposed to do so, and surely even your opinion will be somewhat affected by the fact that Mr. Watkin has at last joined in the protest and that of his own free will and without any incitement on my part. . . . Doubtless Mr. Baker will escape again. Well, we've done our part and again the responsibility rests with yourself." (40)

Rutherford (41) thinks that Moulton may have influenced Watkin but Moulton explicitly denies this. Evidently Rutherford was not aware of both Moulton's statement and Watkin's letters. Nearly a year before, on 2 February 1876, Watkin had written to Chapman:

> "The Chairman, as usual, is the object of a good deal of remarks at present . . . I do not think Mr. Baker is acting in the most judicious manner. . . . I have always stood by the Chairman in his previous difficulties but I must say that he seems to me to be laying himself open to remark. The majority of the chiefs do not like the idea of Mr. Baker being so intimately connected with the Government." (42)

Further letters from Watkin to the Missionary Secretary, after the District Meeting on 11 December 1876, make the position still clearer. He wrote to Chapman on 5 January 1877 regarding his part in the District Meeting:

> "I made an objection against the Chairman for his active part in Government affairs and moved the resolution concerning his active interference. I have no wish that he should be removed from the District or superseded in the chair; but, knowing as I do the very active part he has taken in *all* Government affairs, I must say that I am not at all pleased with the conduct of Mr. Baker. There is a lack of spirituality about him which is calculated to have a very harmful effect upon younger men." (43)

[1879]

the charges on the spot. Chapman wrote to Gordon on 23 July:

> "Mr. Baker's removal from Tonga is absolute and not at all dependent on the result of the inquiry," (58)

Rutherford had some ground for criticizing this action when he said, "He (Baker) was, in fact, to be punished first and tried last".(59) Chapman, as it happened, was a man of gentle disposition and anything but impetuous or vindictive. It is clear that he and the Committee had at last exhausted the patience that they had shown Baker for years past, with many charges against his conduct at various times.

Chapman, in writing to Dr. M. C. Osborne, Missionary Secretary in London (13 September 1879), admitted that he and others felt that Sir Arthur Gordon wanted Baker out of Tonga because he would not "advance British political interests". That this was not the deciding factor was evident from Chapman's significant statement in this letter:

> "Had it not been for a feeling of uncertainty lest some of the charges against Baker should be provable, and if it had not been that he has caused us some uneasiness in the past, we should not have consented to recall him until our inquiry had shown it to be necessary." (60)

This underlying reason for Baker's removal was made clear to Baker himself in Chapman's letter (6 October 1879):

> "So many unpleasant things have occurred for several years past as to greatly lessen your influence, and therefore your removal was necessary in the interests of the District, independent altogether of the charges we are sent to investigate." (61)

Baker had been censured severely several times by his Church but not withdrawn from Tonga because he was so useful as a fund-raiser for Missions and because there was a fear of offending the king. Neither reason was worthy. At last the Committee decided on his recall, not only because of his political activities in breach of missionaries' instructions, but fundamentally because they knew that there would never be either peace or honour in the Mission while Baker remained in Tonga. On that point they were unquestionably right.
Unfortunately for the Church, the Committee acted too late. Baker was establishing [609]
himself as a champion of Tonga's freedom, and he could appeal to local support
against what could be regarded as outside interference. On 17 October the king, [643]
and on 28 October 2,970 signatories to a petition, protested against his removal. [829]

The commission consisted of Chapman and William Clarke, who was President of the New South Wales and Queensland Conference that year. They heard Maudslay's charges against Baker in Nuku'alofa from 8 to 29 October 1879. Maudslay had been absent for twelve months on consular duties in Samoa and Fiji and had only just returned before Chapman and Clarke arrived. He declared that he was unprepared for the inquiry; actually, he found difficulty in producing witnesses.(62) The charges were, first, Baker's political activities, his part in the Treaty with Germany and in trying to secure a German secretary for the king; second, financial, his connection with the Bank of Tonga and with the general commercial dealings of the Tonga Government, together with Maudslay's belief that Baker was benefiting from a connection with the German firm; third, collecting from the people on borrowed money through the German firm.

Baker conducted his defence with great ability and adroitness. He had little difficulty in exposing mere rumours and pointing out the insufficient evidence on some charges. He brushed aside political charges, stating that he only gave advice. The third series, with supporting affidavits from traders, were those from

/16 cont./

177 work which in any way smacks of coercion. They work for others in
181 order to be of help, out of friendship and love, or also, of course,
[461] to earn a desired wage, but only if they "happen to feel like it."
In essence, the Tongan's self-assurance has by no means been touched
though we must admit that he is full of deeply felt admiration, full
of respect for the mind and education of Europeans and their way
177 of life (even though he knows little about it). Many of the young
181 intellectuals seriously try to understand and learn more about
829 European ways. Yet in their way of life, their conversations among
themselves, and their demeanor toward Europeans the Tongans of all
levels show no depression or inferiority complexes. Rather, they are
free, open, proud and self-assured in their manner, with an admixture
of genuine, cheerful humor which, for example, always makes them ready
/17/ to scoff and to laugh at presumed or genuine weaknesses of whites.
Many an individual, despite due recognition of the superior knowledge
and greater capability of Europeans, does not see in them a shining,
pure ideal, but observes them keenly, and is ready for carefully considered criticism if whites, instead of conducting themselves in
accordance with the admiration and esteem accorded them by the Tongans,
set "bad examples" (i.e. drunkenness, undignified behavior toward
Tongan girls, "worldly" behavior). (1)

[184] 1. In the conduct of the natives toward Europeans there is, of course, a difference between the small, remote islands which are seldom visited by whites and seaports like Nuku'alofa and Neiafu. On the small islands the Tongans seem at first more reserved, some occasionally even shy, and English-speaking ones are afraid to talk to a stranger in English, whereas in the seaports the conduct of the Tongans seem freer and more self-assured as a result of frequent dealings with whites. However, the basic conduct may be said to be generally the same, particularly since, among the natives of

[178] The "assured imperturbability" (2) unchanged since ancient times, and the great self-assurance (3) of the Tongans seem all the more remarkable since these native farmers in their villages do not see their European counterpart, but only the city white man who, as a generally more clever person, intelligent and tougher, and usually with enough money, finds his way to the islands. Thus the Tongans know little of the unhappy European who has failed in his professional and economic life; in general they know nothing about the ragged and hungry human beings of the European slums. Rather, they see largely a selection of intelligent and capable urban Europeans and from these they automatically generalize about Europeans. A Tongan who thus never compares himself with the European farmer in non-industrial areas, knows anything about the extensive specialization in the West. The natives living on the small islands, most of whom today are still able themselves to fulfill all the tasks more or less easily that come up in their communities, from planting and fishing to house building, believe that the European can easily fabricate a ship or a plane, a bicycle or a flashlight. These Tongans regard the European as much more capable and superior than he actually is, and yet they have retained their old self-assurance.

Various reasons may account for that. Above all the considerable

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829 177 181 (184) /17 cont./ the small islands, the strict observance of reserve imposed by the old customs must be taken into consideration.

(113) 2. G. Forster in: *Geschichte der See-Reisen und Entdeckungen im Sudmeer* /History of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas/. vol. V. Berlin 1780, p. 146.

(113) 3. For example, *Annales de la Propagation de la foi* /Annals of the spread of the faith/. vol. XVIII. Lyon 1845. p. 440.

/17 cont./

177 strength of the natural Tongan self-assurance must be mentioned /18/
181 which (like the rest of their typical character traits) probably
829 grew out of blood characteristics, historical development, and the
life style of this people, and was nourished by their enduring,
generally peaceful, carefree life on the islands, even during the
European intrusion. (4)

[669] 4. Even the civil-war-approximating confusion that ended in 1852 did not affect all the islands of the Archipelago to the same degree; aside from the high points of fighting, it was not very intense and was broken by rather long peaceful intervals.

177 Their self-assurance increased or sought strong support in the follow-
181 ing facts: The Tongans (with certain limitations) have kept their
186 own small kingdom, and their awareness of not being a colony fills
563 them with pride; the Whites living in Tonga, while observing a
565 certain distance, have not taken any racially discriminatory actions;
many Tongans, with their skin color brown in comparison with the dark-skinned natives familiar to them in the Solomon Islands and in Fiji, feel closer to Europeans and today largely reject the term "native" for a Tongan; (5)

5. For example, the designation "Tongan medical practitioner" /cited in English/ was introduced in place of "native medical practitioner" /cited in English/.

to a certain extent, the commoners' progressive "liberation" from dependence on their chiefs during the past nine decades (6)

6. It is regarded as a matter of natural courtesy no longer to call commoners (tu'a) as such in their presence.

has contributed to this general assertion of self-assurance, as has the commoners opportunity of advancement in various professions (clergyman, teacher, physician, salaried employee) resulting from this development, and the growing opportunities [ranging] from acquiring

/30 cont./

181 nature (money, tools, clothing, food), besides the limited trans-
177 mission of knowledge by Tongans in the village schools (partly by
white persons in the colleges) and the not fully efficient health
[538] service. The only literature published in the Tongan language is
[207] purely ecclesiastical, and there is no Tongan radio service. The
modern European world which, with its characteristics, its wants and
objectives, is somewhat complicated, open and not amenable to simple
answers even for Europeans, must always remain to a certain extent
alien and unintelligible to the Tongan, not only because his dis-
position is, in part, of an entirely different nature, but also
because he is offered only disconnected, isolated parts [of the whole
[829] picture]. The latter probably give most Tongans the idea that
"European" means first and foremost: /31/ being clean, well-to-do,
[183] knowing a lot and being able to do a lot. This is the ideal the
islanders more or less consciously strive for; however, they do not
do so uncritically, for by their conduct and by their words, for
example, they emphasize, at least on the small islands, that they
are proud of not being as attached to money as are the white people.

157 Besides the mass of Tongans to whom the character traits
156 described in the preceding section apply, there is also a minority
177 of extreme, highly Europeanized types, a few of whom may probably
be best explained by the following examples:

1. Tongan T., 41 years old, the son of a chief on Tongatapu. College education there; visit to Fiji; military training in New Zealand. Regarded as matapule. (62) Was occupied at the Tonga court, among other things as chauffeur. Took a "vacation" and has been living on Nomuka for several months.

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[565] 62. The matapule are members of a once highly privileged noble class; in the narrower sense, attendants to a titled chief in special ceremonial services.

/31 cont./

157 156 177 Clothing for everyday wear khaki trousers, European shirt and white tennis shoes, along with sun glasses and a sun helmet. On Sundays wears gray trousers, shirt, colorful "Waikiki jacket," socks and black low shoes. Eats the customary Tongan-European diet; sleeps on a mat. T. tries to appear a "man of the world," to tower above his friends as a leader. Has not married. Goes with many girls. Has a [454] small savings account in Nuku'alofa. Says he wants to save more money in order to build a house in Nuku'alofa in the European style, to furnish it and then to marry. He is contemptuous of typical Tonga [829] work such as women's mat plaiting and tapa making, regarding these as useless occupations. T. is intelligent and gifted with a natural sense of humor. He has no firm outlook, is casual, lazy, has not worked for months, seems to have no home and takes turns living off relatives or friends to save money. Though, in view of his idleness, he leads a life similar to that of the chiefs and matapule of ancient Tonga times, his presence in the village, despite the universal Tonga kindness and hospitality, is felt to be unpleasant after a few months. T. appears to the observer as a "rootless type" who has lost raport with truly Tongan life.

2. Tongan M., 42 years old, son of a respected family on Tongatapu. College education there. Student of more than average achievement. Trained as medicine dispenser (apothecary). Much contact with white physicians. In the course of the years he has managed stations on "Eua, Lifuka and Niua Fo'ou and has treated diseases on his own. In the last war a great deal of contact with English and Americans. Has read several English books and many English magazines. Has worked as "dispenser " /cited in English/ on Nomuka for three years, and cultivates his planting, usually with slight expenditure of work. After the death of his first wife, married his former housekeeper and now has eleven children. For everyday, wears the Tonga

/114 cont./

000 of minister of finance. A certain obstacle to growth is also the as
647 yet unbroken power of the nobles; in government positions, rank is
565 apparently still preferable to knowledge and ability.

829 For the majority of Tongans living on the 36 islands, the family
and the village community are the most important centers of life.
People know that there is a government in Nuku'alofa, and even that
there is a parliament which meets there with /115/ represetatives of
the people. But they scarcely have close connections with this
government, or even a lively interest in it. For most natives the
[643] government is much too remote--both physically and mentally. Only
[644] the Queen, the Crown Prince and the remaining members of the royal
house are well known to all the highly honored. As in olden times
178 in their relationship with the chiefs, the mass of the people are
829 today willing to follow the instructions and commands of their
203 government representatives. The *fono*, for example, the town meeting,
621 (319)
still exists; here the decisions and regulations of the government
are announced and accepted by the people--as in old times--without
discussion or vote. Thus, for example, the Crown Prince and Premier
[644] Tungi held a large *fono* on March 1952 in Pangai on Lifuka, where he
[645] announced to the men of all the villages of this island that from
now on an airline was to touch down on the Archipelago and that they
would have to build an airport here in May/June. The district officers
622 and town officers carry on their work in the villages with quiet
634 reserve; in general, they do only that which has been ordered "from
631 above," and do not interfere in village life on their own initiative.
203 They announce in a *fono* the instructions they have received from the
621 government; the men of the village accept the directives without
203 contradiction and carry them out more or less as instructed. Such
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319. See E.W. Gifford, *Tongan Society*, p. 181.

/115 cont./

203 orders refer not only to the necessary public works for the village
621 community, but even to the personal activities of husband and wife.
641 For example, it is incumbent on the men to plant certain minimum
203 amounts of various crops on their land, and the women are given
621 instructions to make certain quantities of mats and tapa within a
given period. These directives signify the continuation of the ancient
[178] supervision and work guidance of the chiefs. However, the situation
has changed in that the products are meant only for the use of the
family producing them. The people in general willingly carry out
178 these directives. As in ancient Tonga, the majority of the people
829 accept the present situation of the government as an unalterable, self-
evident fact. There are but few who criticise conditions. Such
[565] critics among commoners usually have enjoyed special schooling and
[578] have become dissatisfied as a result of some hindrance to their
professional development.

829 As an example we cite the case of the Tongan S. who was educated
642 in New Zealand. He says: "Here in Tonga we do not have a democracy,
565 but a dictatorship. The chiefs have almost all the power and the
greatest influence. Approximately /116/ 50,000 Tongans elect seven
[666] representative to parliament, whereas the 33 nopele of the aristo-
[646] cratic group likewise elect seven representatives. Added to these
[645] are the cabinet members, most of whom are also nopele, so that the
small aristocratic group has more representatives than the mass of the
829 people.--If a young noble goes to school in New Zealand, the nobles
565 raise money and support him. Later, when he returns home, he has all
464 the advantages and gets a good job, since government positions are
given out by nobles. A commoner is a complete outsider. You could
argue that the commoners should also raise money for him. But what
would be the use? He doesn't get the good jobs anyway. (320)

/116 cont./

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464 320. S. is, of course, speaking very radically. A few commoners have indeed succeeded in being promoted to the highest administrative positions.

[465] At the top' are often those who were not as good in school as he, who did not accomplish as much, and now earn 40£T. a month, and the ones who, by their own efforts, struggled through in New Zealand and are capable, have subordinate positions and earn 10 to 15£T.; they are obliged to start at the very bottom, yet they know better than 'the ones at the top' how the work up there should be done..."

829 In answer to the objection that there is, after all, no indigence in Tonga, that there is enough food for everybody and that life seems peaceful and, on the whole, happy, since every Tongan can own a house and land and even money for his copra work, he says: "But we are not free, we cannot influence government affairs or domestic policy."

642 The ancient Tonga state centrally ruled by a godlike Tu'i Tonga
177 has thus passed away, and Tonga is today a state with a European-like
643 structure accepted by the world of Whites. This change succeeded
[797] chiefly because, when it began, the uppermost power of the state was
already dissolved, and the capable personality of Taufa'ahau on his way to supreme power was supported by the Wesleyan missionaries. The development was also able to run a peaceful course because Tonga, as a protectorate, retained a certain independence and therefore could
642 preserve essential traits of its old government. In the person of
[565] Crown Prince Tungi, the future king, the three sovereign lines of
[644] Tonga were united, and the aristocracy has the key positions in the
government. The complicated system of the constitutional monarchy
[177] which in its peculiarities and possibilities is actually foreign to the
natives and difficult for them to understand, functions--with the more or less obvious guidance of Europeans--as well as it can under the

794 883 /255 cont./ Although the younger Tongans generally have a similar attitude toward the church as the older ones, there are a few among them who are freer (680) and more critical, and some who are even skeptical; it is difficult to say whether this is the beginning of a certain change (that is, a weakening of the old zealous faith), or whether it is merely an attitude that can be attributed to the youth of the persons in question, which will change as they grow older and will become more stable in the religious sense.

771 177 In summarizing we may therefore conclude: The ancient Tongan religion is a thing of the past except for a few insignificant surving elements, and Christianity has become an essential factor in the life of all Tongans whose religious needs are obviously being satisfied by the churches, and whose zealous devoutness is today probably stronger than in many traditional Christian countries. [797] Although the missionaries destroyed the belief in the ancient gods and the effectiveness of the tapu which cast its shadow over all of life, this did not mean a disruption and a catastrophe in the lives of the Tongans. For in place of the old that was overthrown there [829] was immediately something new that was highly revered and they could believe in, all the more so because Christianity seemed to the natives the reason for Europe's so successful development. (681) [565] Since the commoners were recognized as having the same status before God, the same prospects for a life in the next world as did the nobles, the population could be won over to the new religion all the more easily. The present findings show that the great majority of Tongans [797] are very devout Christians, hence the goal of the early missionaries

680. Some young Tongans, for example, attend the Wesleyan services only on Sunday.

681. During their conversion the bible was often regarded as the source of ability and power, and thus they were very willing to learn to read.

/274 cont./ Many older Tongan men and

805 women still /275/ can not tell their age, (748)

829 748. Years were not counted in ancient Tongan times (see ibid. p. 164).

whereas members of the middle-aged generation and especially the young 212 are mostly able to give their exact year of birth. For most of the natives reading is limited to the study of the bible and other church writings. The average native needs to write only when he has to sign [205) his name to a document; they seldom write a letter to a relative or friend, although there is postal service in the Archipelago.

772 823 177 The conception of the world (749)

749. In ancient Tongan times the natives apparently visualized the world as flat with abrupt precipices on the edges (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 134), and they believed there were a number of superimposed sky-domes (see E.E.V. Collcott, Collcott, "Tongan astronomy"... pp. 157/158). For the natives their Archipelago was, of course, the most important of all island territories and, in a way, the center of their known world.

of these islanders was changed fundamentally not only by their Christianization, (750)

750. See p. 375 ff.

772 177 but also by the knowledge imparted in their schools. The knowledge and belief of the whites took the place of the old myths and tales. Geography and history, cosmology (751)

[821) 751. Modern cosmology, however, did not lead to a revival of a thorough knowledge of the stars which the old Tongans had and which was lost through the use of the compass (see E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy..." pp. 157/158).

and European division of time brought a rational conception of the world which was relatively well understood and adopted by many natives. For [771] most of these natives it is not to be separated from the religious [212] conception of the world of Christianity in which it seems embedded [538)

/281 cont./

871 The adoption of European book-learning as well as the excessive
177 amount of theoretical knowledge have not heretofore had a negative
effect because Tonga is independent in its domestic policy; there is
no discrimination against, much less suppression of, native intelligence
by whites. The Tongans realize that the possibilities for applying
their knowledge, their education, are limited by natural conditions
(the smallness of their kingdom), and that they are not deliberately
held back by a European administration. On the contrary, the British
[657] protectorate authority seeks to raise their level through the training
[463] of Tongan physicians, teachers and administrative officials. And
therein lies the visible benefit of their adoption of European knowledge:
The Tongans have to a certain extent learned to administer their state
in the European manner, so that they may exist in the midst of a
Europeanized world.

7. The Attitude of the Tongans to the Change in their Culture

829 The majority of Tongans, both in the chief towns as well as the
villages of the large and small islands of the Archipelago accept the
changes in their way of life and their culture not only as something
to be taken for granted and unalterable, but something they even welcome
[563] and try to promote. None of the natives resists this development,
and there is no hostility against Europeans.

829 Most of them see in the life style of the whites an ideal worth
177 striving for; they would like to know as much, be able to do as much,
186 be as neat and prosperous as they are. Yet, despite this wish, the
Tongans are not giving up their own nature, their old point of view which
was so typical even at the time they were discovered. With considerable
self-assurance they face Europeans and have a pride which in the community
increases to a national consciousness. In general they adopt from the

/281 cont./

829 177 [186] whites only what seems good to them and are by no means uncritical--insofar as circumstances make criticism possible for them. Faced with the superiority of European materials and the European mind they maintain ease and equanimity.

/282/ To be sure, most Tongans feel that their way of life is poor compared to the high material and intellectual standard of Europeans. [565] But they accept this as a fact and do not seem burdened by it, especially since they are all, nobles as well as commoners, on the same level and actual comparisons with the European way of life are very rare or indeed quite impossible.

829 177 178 The majority of natives are not at all aware of the fact that their culture is no longer pure and aboriginal, but rather a mixed culture which contains much that for the Tongan is actually useless and merely "imitation." There is no resigned looking-back to ancient Tongan culture and history, (760)

> [769] 760. The ruins of grave sites (tombstones, "langi") of the ancient Tongan supreme rulers (Tu'i Tonga) at Mu'a/Tongatapu are for the most part overgrown. and in the midst of two old stone monuments on the island of Nomuka/Ha'apai there is even kape planted.

but rather affirmation of the present and anticipation of the future. (761)

> 761. Only a few chiefs regret the decline of those customs which once stressed their social rank so clearly.

Many natives, however, have the painful feeling that the Tongan can never become "like the European." Very few conclude, on the basis of this, consciously to preserve their ancient Tongan cultural heritage alongside the adopted European /culture/ and to unite it with the latter. The majority of the people, however, do this quite unconsciously.

[184] [369] There is a certain difference between the attitude of the population

/282 cont./

829 184 369 177 178 in the villages and the seaports. The Tongans of the village settlements, especially on the small islands, seem to be passive. They approve of the development, they have a certain pride in their admiration and respect for the competence and the mind of the whites, even though they remain self-assured. The "urbanized" Tongans living in the principal towns have somewhat more contact with Europeans and their world, and are more lively and flexible. They too take an affirmative attitude toward the development because they see its necessity and its usefulness, and they are always interested in learning from whites. Yet they do not necessarily believe in the unselfishness and sincerity of all Europeans, but often critical of them. Many value the whites merely as advisers and teachers who open up for Tonga the material and technical facilities of Europe and who can also develop education, hygiene and administration to such an extent that the standard of the small kingdom can be raised and it can assert itself in the world; they reject a leadership role of [186] Europeans. These natives often show a rather marked patriotism; they are proud of their own small kingdom and of /283/ the fact that their Archipelago is the only one in the Pacific that has remained an independent state. Some of them are anxious to increase the political freedom of their country.

829 177 178 [186] In general, therefore, it may be said of the Tongan attitude toward their development that scarcely anyone longs for the past, for the ancient Tongan way of life. Many realize the value of their own culture and point to it with a certain pride, and some also try consciously to preserve it. But on the whole they willingly and happily affirm the progressive change of Tongan culture and only unconsciously impede it by certain conservative tendencies and a pronounced inclination towards equanimity.

/324 cont./

177 with Christian attributes.

In an evaluation of the European impact we must also mention, besides the "pressure" brought to bear by whites, simple "proposals" as well as "patterns" for various areas of culture. These include: merchandise (tools, equipment, building material, readymade clothing and fabrics, articles of daily use, tobacco, musical instruments), new work methods, house- and boat-building, styles of dress, money economy, professions, art, games.

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829 The Tongan culture change was furthered and, to a certain extent, made possible by a positive reaction of the natives. They took over European /cultural/ assets because, as intelligent, open-minded and adaptable human beings, they simply recognized their usefulness (or convenience) as well as their superiority over what they already had. (53)

53. See tools, equipment, building material, housewares, clothing, cleansing materials.

To some extent it was also a happy acceptance of the novelty because they believed that in this way they were coming closer to the esteemed whites. (54)

54. For example, knowledge, Christiantiy, names, clothing, hairstyle, dwelling, housewares, food.

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[554] Undoubtedly, the need for social recognition also plays an important role, for through the adoption of such European culture traits the natives /325/ seek to gain special esteem among their own kind. European food as well as tobacco, however, also became popular simply for reasons of taste, and copra production became so widespread because of the interest in money-making (aroused by Europeans and their goods).

The adoption of European innovations at times produced a chain of further changes (for example, copra production--money--purchase

434 431 encountered in survey responses was church contribution, the second
most frequent expense was cash gifts to relatives.) In addition,
434 landless households may receive cash from relatives working overseas, most frequently in New Zealand, though also in Australia, Samoa and Hawaii. In a few cases, landless households receive as much or more income from overseas sources than the total income of a landholding Tongan.

241 Additional alternatives open to landless Tongans include a
427 variety of sharecropping arrangements, the most common being an agreement to harvest a prearranged quantity of produce, for which no return to the landowner is made. A modification of this is the harvesting of the entire crop by the landless family, and sharing the profits, half and half, with the landowner.

423 Still another alternative enabling landless households to
427 obtain land is the paying for such through an unofficial rent system.
[685] The renting or leasing of land under this arrangement is, strictly speaking, illegal. However, use of land is often granted in exchange for gifts of vegetables, pigs, labor or even small amounts of cash paid to the landowner.

423 The landless element in Tonga is rapidly growing, and undoubtedly will become a major social and economic issue in the Kingdom's future. However, at present, significant or widespread social unrest related to the issue of land tenure is not evident.
423 Of those interviewed, 21 percent believed the present land tenure
829 system to be unsatisfactory, due to the lack of sufficient land.
This opinion was not restricted to landless households, but was

423 expressed by landowners, as well. However, only 0.3 percent of the
829 sample expressed the opinion that the tenure system should be
reorganized. Though this appears to be contradictory, most informants, when pressed on the issue, implied that the land tenure system was based on tradition, and would not change.

511 Considering these features of the system, the following conclusions may be formulated. Although landlessness exists on a large scale throughout Tonga, few landless households suffer critical hardships resulting from land shortage. Most landless individuals consider their income sufficient for household needs. An occasional landless family enjoying remittances from abroad or who derive income from fishing or labor may even achieve an income level above that of the average allotment holder.

121 Land tenure must also be considered in terms of its role in
the nation's agricultural economy. Although an in-depth analysis of
Tongan agriculture is contained within the following chapter, its
relation to land tenure can be considered within the framework of the
[457] present section. The major issue which arises is that concerning
the basis for the development of cash cropping, which is vital to
Tonga's balance of payments.

241 Cash cropping has been largely confined to the production of
245 bananas and cocnut products. This does not mean that other cash crops
245 are being rejected, owning to land tenure. At the present, several
attempts are being made to develop the cultivation of vanilla and
[439] citrus as cash crops. Nonetheless, the great majority of export